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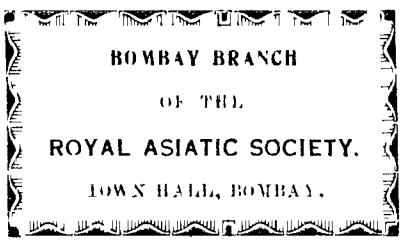

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A HISTORY

OF

ETON COLLEGE.

C.H. Jeens

Henry VI

From the Original Picture at Eton

R Henricus

London, Published by Macmillan & Co 1876

A HISTORY

OF

ETON COLLEGE.

1440—1875.

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BY

H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, M.A.

ETON COLLEGE,
From the Terrace, Windsor Castle.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY P. H. DELAMOTTE,
A STEEL ENGRAVING BY C. H. JEENS, ETC.

London:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1875.

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ETONENSIBVS

ETONENSIS

PREFACE

AN historical work on Eton admits of several modes of treatment, and commands the interest of persons of various tastes and habits of thought. According to some, it should be a biographical register of successive Provosts, Fellows, and Masters, who have guided a great national institution through more than four centuries of almost unbroken prosperity; according to others, it should trace the continuous existence of an ecclesiastical corporation, richly endowed and boasting a picturesque pile of medieval buildings; some think that it should follow the careers of a vast number of England's greatest men from the cradle to the grave; others that it should be a record of educational progress, a treatise on grammars and exercises; while yet another class would wish to see in it a faithful picture of school life at different periods, with long accounts of popular games and boyish adventures.

Much has already been written about Eton from one or other of these points of view, but no compre-

hensive work on the subject has yet appeared. My object has been to produce a History of Eton in which matters of biography and architecture, studies and pastimes, old customs and single incidents, should each receive their due share of notice, and fall into their proper places, side by side, in chronological order. Yet it is impossible, within reasonable limits, to be at the same time comprehensive and exhaustive; and I have not dwelt on the lives of any persons, however remarkable, save in so far as was necessary to illustrate their connection with the College. Nor have I attempted to supplement or supersede such excellent monographs as Mr. Blake-Humfrey's "Eton Boating Book," or Mr. Stapylton's "Eton School Lists."

A great portion of my book is based on the authority of original manuscripts hitherto unnoticed by any writer. The notes on the early history of Eton in such works as Sir E. S. Creasy's "Eminent Etonians," and the "Annals of Windsor," are almost exclusively derived from the collections of Roger Huggett, a Conduct (or Chaplain) at Eton in the middle of the eighteenth century, who bequeathed to the British Museum the transcripts and extracts he had made from the College records. Yet Huggett never saw some of the most important documents relating to the building of the Church, and he made no use whatever of the invaluable series of Audit

Rolls and Audit Books, which extends with but few breaks from 1444 down to the present time. By the special permission of the Provost I have been allowed to examine these and all the other manuscripts preserved in the Library and Muniment Room at Eton. I have also consulted many manuscripts in the British Museum, at the Record Office, in the Bodleian Library, at Cambridge, at Lincoln, at Windsor Castle, in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth, and in the possession of private individuals, among whom I may mention the Hon. G. M. Fortescue, the Hon. Mrs. Hodgson, the Rev. J. W. Riddell, the Rev. C. C. James, and J. H. Patteson, Esq.

I have made a point of quoting the authorities for my statements on every possible occasion; where no reference is given it must be understood that I have derived my information from the testimony of some old Etonian. For assistance received in the course of my researches my best thanks are due to the Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Coleridge, Bishop Abraham, the Rev. George Williams, the Rev. G. J. Dupuis, the Rev. T. Brocklebank, the Rev. S. Lewis, the Rev. J. T. Hodgson, F. W. Cornish, Esq., C. Branch, Esq., C. D. Cobham, Esq., R. Williams, Esq., and many others. The Rev. W. L. Collins has most generously placed at my disposal the notes he has made for a future edition of his brilliant little book "Etoniana." But, above all, I

have to thank the Provost, who, from the first day on which he heard of my undertaking, has never varied in his kindness towards me, and who by his antiquarian knowledge has saved me from errors and omissions which I should otherwise have made. It would be too much to hope that many such will not still be found in the following pages.

H. C. MAXWELL LYTE.

18, ALBEMARLE STREET.
December, 1875.

ERRATA.

P. ix., l. 12, *for* "Rev. J. W. Riddell" *read* "Rev. J. C. B. Riddell."
P. 24, l. 28, *for* "St. Iago of" *read* "Santiago de."
P. 56, l. 3, *for* "of" *read* "de."
P. 67, l. 21, *for* "Pius" *read* "Paul."
P. 168, l. 3, *for* "fanaticism" *read* "workmen."
P. 242, note 1, *for* "G. R." *read* "G. J."
P. 269, l. 10, *for* "Grey" *read* "Gray."
P. 390, note 1, *for* "lxxvi." *read* "lxxiv."
P. 394, note 2, *for* "xiv." *read* "xxiv."
P. 429, note 2, *for* "rasins" *read* "raisins."
P. 456, note 2, *for* "1799" *read* "1795."

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Engraved by

Percy Roberts. *William J. Palmer.*

Jewitt & Co. *James D. Cooper.*

W. M. Quick.

A HISTORY

OF

ETON COLLEGE.

A HISTORY OF ETON COLLEGE

1440—1442

The first Idea of the College—Choice of Site—Charter of Foundation—Papal Bulls—The Alien Priories—Endowments and Privileges—Indulgences—Early Buildings—Opening of the School—William of Waynflete.

AN attempt to trace the history of Eton College from its foundation takes us back to a period of the utmost depression in every branch of literature and learning in England.[1] The Latin of the clergy and the lawyers was hopelessly corrupt, and the very tradition of Greek scholarship had passed away. Poggio, who visited this country shortly before the birth of Henry VI., drew a gloomy picture of the state of its classical studies, while the decline in the number and quality of English works was no less evident. On the other hand, such knowledge as did exist was becoming more widely diffused, and a movement in favour of popular

[1] Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 107.

education had set in. The fifteenth century witnessed the foundation of several colleges and schools, which in course of time bore good fruit.

It was the good fortune of Henry VI. to pass his early years among patrons of learning, and to their influence we may ascribe a considerable share in the formation of his character and views. His uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who figures in general history chiefly as an ambitious and turbulent politician, is to this day commemorated as a benefactor in the solemn bidding-prayer of the University of Oxford. The Duke's great rival, Cardinal Beaufort, was the immediate successor of William of Wykeham, and, as such, the official Visitor of the colleges founded by him at Winchester and at Oxford. The fame of these noble institutions must also have reached the ears of the young King through other members of his Court. Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bekynton, the King's Secretary, had both been Fellows of New College. Both were doubtless enthusiastic about William of Wykeham and his foundations, which were destined to exercise so important an influence on the future course of education in England.

To Wykeham is due the idea of a college at the university continually supplied with scholars from a great grammar-school, an idea which was adopted not only by Henry VI., but by Cardinal Wolsey, by Sir Thomas White, and by Queen Elizabeth. The foundation of the two Winton Colleges is also important as marking a turning-point in the struggle between the regular and the secular clergy. During the middle ages the monasteries had been the principal seats of education in England, but their inefficiency had become notorious by the end of the fourteenth century. Wyke-

ham despaired of accomplishing any great work with monks for teachers, and he accordingly followed the example of Walter de Merton and others, in excluding them from any place in his colleges. It is not a little significant that part of the endowments granted by him had been purchased from religious houses. This was the first step towards the confiscation of monastic property begun by Henry V. and finished by Henry VIII. Between Wykeham's time and Henry VI.'s assumption of power, several colleges and schools had been founded, but little provision had been made for poor scholars, who often had to resort to begging as a means of obtaining the necessaries of life.[1]

John Langton, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, is said to have been the first to suggest to the King that he should do for that University what Wykeham had done for Oxford.[2] Henry VI. was just entering manhood, but, unlike his illustrious father, he had shown no tendency towards frivolity or profligacy. Fuller has summed up his character by saying that "he was fitter for a coul than a crown; of so easie a nature that he might well have exchanged a pound of patience for an ounce of valour."[3] Having himself received a careful education, he was anxious that his subjects should enjoy opportunities of acquiring knowledge; and he was the more inclined to interest himself in the welfare of the young, from the fact of his having been born on the festival of St. Nicholas, the

[1] The want of a comprehensive review of the condition of learning and education in this country during the later middle ages has recently been met by Mr. Mullinger's work on *The University of Cambridge*, and by Mr. Anstey's *Munimenta Academica Oxon.* Mr. Furnivall also deserves the thanks of all antiquaries for his notes on *Education in Early England.*

[2] Mullinger, page 306, and Cooper's *Memorials of Cambridge.*

[3] *Worthies of England — Berks.*

patron saint of children. Chichele, the founder of All Souls, may have pointed out the advantage of securing the masses and prayers of what an old writer styles "an honest college of sad priests;"[1] and Beaufort, the benefactor of St. Cross, may have pleaded the cause of the aged and the infirm. However this may be, the King made the scheme his own, declaring that its adoption should mark the commencement of his personal rule, and be "the first pledge of his devotion to God."[2]

Wykeham had caused his grammar-school to be built under his own eye, in his cathedral city of Winchester; and in like manner, Henry of Windsor selected for his school a site at Eton, close to his own birthplace and residence. From the windows and terraces of his castle he hoped to be able to watch the progress of the buildings, and, possibly, some day to see the College completed, girt about with walls and crowned with towers.

The first step taken by the Founder towards the execution of his great undertaking was the purchase of the advowson of the Parochial Church of Eton, which had hitherto been in private hands.[3] Payn Burghill, the Rector, was induced to resign his post in December 1439.[4] He was doubtless rewarded at the time with some Crown living, and a few years later he received a prebendal stall at Windsor.[5] Meanwhile another member of that Chapter, John Kette, was appointed to hold the Rectory of Eton, while the

[1] Hall's *Union of the two noble and illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York*, p. 223.

[2] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. p. 231.

[3] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, p. 419.

[4] *Deed of Resignation* in the library at Eton.

[5] Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, vol. iii. p. 386.

details of the new scheme were under consideration. It was above all necessary, that the King should visit and personally examine Wykeham's famous College at Winchester, which was to serve as a model for his own. He accordingly went there towards the end of July 1440, and attended several services in the Chapel.[1]

A few weeks later the King formally announced his intention of founding a new college in the Parochial Church of Eton and in a field adjoining the north side of its cemetery, and he appointed three proxies to execute all legal forms connected with the foundation, and specially to conduct negotiations with the Bishop of Lincoln, whose diocese at that time included the County of Buckingham.[2] William Alnwick, then occupant of that See, entered warmly into the scheme, and extolled the goodness of the King towards "our Holy Mother the Church of England, which in these last days the sons of Belial would have destroyed," but for the royal protection. The Bishop in his turn appointed certain Commissaries to act on his behalf. They were all men of distinction—William Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury; William Lyndwode, Keeper of the Privy Seal, the great canonist; Thomas Bekynton, the King's Secretary; and Richard Andrew, the first Warden of All Souls College. These Commissaries received authority from the Bishop to convert the Parochial Church of Eton into a Collegiate Church, governed by a Provost and Fellows, to receive the resignation of the Rector, and then to give corporal investiture to the Provost designate.[3]

The royal and the episcopal Proctors delayed the execution of their respective functions until they were

[1] Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 136.

[2] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 287—290. September 12, 1440.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 274—278.

in possession of the King's Charter of Foundation, which bears date the 11th of October, 1440. This document has been printed more than once already; so we may be excused from giving it at full length, and content ourselves with a translation of part of the preamble, which breathes the spirit of a zealous churchman :—

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

"The triumphant Church that reigns on high, whose head is the Eternal Father, and to which hosts of saints minister, while choirs of angels sing the glory of her praise, hath appointed as her vicar on earth the Church militant, which the only-begotten Son of the same God hath so united to Himself in the bond of eternal love, as to deign to name her His most beloved Bride; and in accordance with the dignity of so great a name, He, as a true and most loving Bridegroom, hath endowed her with gifts of His grace so ample, that she is called and is the Mother and Mistress of all who are born again in Christ, having power as a Mother over each of them; and all the faithful honour her with filial obedience as a Mother and Mistress. Through this worthy consideration, indeed, saintly princes in times past, and most particularly our progenitors, have always so endeavoured to pay the highest honour and devout veneration to the same Holy Church, that besides many other glorious works of their goodness in her praise, and in honour of her Spouse, their royal devotion has founded, not only in this our kingdom of England, but also in divers foreign regions, monasteries, churches, and other pious places richly established in affluence of property and goods. Wherefore we also, who, by the disposition of the same King of kings (through whom all kings do reign), have now taken into our own hands the government of both our kingdoms, have from the very beginning of our riper age carefully revolved in our mind how, or in what manner, or by what royal gift, according to the measure of our

devotion and the example of our ancestors, we could do fitting honour to that our same Mistress and most Holy Mother, to the pleasure of that her great Spouse. And at length, while we were thinking over these things with the most profound attention, it has become a fixed purpose in our heart to found a college, in honour and in support of that our Mother, who is so great and so holy, in the Parochial Church of Eton near Windsor, not far from our birthplace."

Henry VI. therefore proceeded to found and establish a college "to endure to all time, to the praise, glory, and honour of our Crucified Lord, to the exaltation of the most glorious Virgin Mary, His Mother, and the support of the Holy Church, His Bride." "*The King's College of our Lady of Eton beside Windsor*" was declared to be a body corporate, capable of holding lands and advowsons in perpetuity. While reserving power to himself to make changes in the future, the Founder sketched out a constitution for the College, and nominated some of the original members. They were to consist of a Provost, ten Fellows, four Clerks, six Choristers, a Schoolmaster, twenty-five poor and indigent Scholars, and the same number of poor and infirm men.[1] This scheme may be said to have united the characteristics of a college of secular priests, a school for boys, and an almshouse for poor men. The Almshouse was suppressed during the Founder's own lifetime; the College of priests, after more than four centuries of honourable existence, has lately been doomed to destruction; while the School has gradually risen to an unrivalled pitch of prosperity, and is destined to monopolize the revenues and the very name of *Eton College*.

The Bishop of Lincoln's Commissaries met the

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, pp. 279—285. Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 388—393, &c.

King's Proctors on the 13th of October, 1440, in the Parochial Church of Eton, and combined in declaring that that building was, and should thenceforth be styled, a Collegiate Church. They then adjourned for a week. At their second meeting, Bekynton appeared in his capacity of Archdeacon of Bucks, and, as such, gave his assent to the appropriation of the Church to the Provost, Fellows, and College. After this he joined his colleagues in accepting the resignation of John Kette, the Rector, who was appointed one of the original Fellows of the College. Henry Sever was then formally inducted as Provost,[1] so as to give some sort of reality to the hitherto merely nominal existence of the new institution.

These formalities were but just concluded at Eton, when a certain Richard Chester was despatched to Italy to procure the Pope's ratification. He carried with him a letter of safe-conduct addressed to the Archbishop of Cologne, as well as letters of introduction to Cardinal Barbo and to the Bishop of Bayeux, who were then at the Papal Court.[2] A second envoy, named Richard Caunton, followed him thither a few months later, to make matters more sure.[3] They found the Pope at Florence, where he had lately held a General Council, and outwitted the delegates of the Greek Church. Eugenius IV. has been described as "the first Pope who displayed an inclination to favour the learned,"[4] and he made no difficulty about giving his assent to King Henry's scheme. In January 144$\frac{9}{1}$, he issued three Bulls, one confirming the foundation,[5] another permitting the King to assign suitable dresses

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 285—287, 290—292.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 136, 218, 219.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 217.
[4] Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 102.
[5] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 270—293.

to the members,[1] and a third allowing the Provost and College to farm out their lands even to laymen.[2]

On the Lady Day following the promulgation of these Bulls, Henry VI. issued the first and most important of a series of charters relative to the endowment of the College.[3] We shall not give a list, or attempt any history of the various manors, rectories, and pensions which were granted for the purpose of providing funds for the maintenance of the College; but we may just mention the source from which most of them were obtained, viz., the Alien Priories.

William I. and the nobles who followed him into England had, naturally enough, bestowed some of their newly-acquired wealth on the religious houses of their native land, and the practice was continued by their descendants. In course of time the Norman and other foreign monasteries thus acquired considerable property in this country, for the due management of which cells or priories were established on the spot. Some of these were treated as mere dependencies, and were expected to transmit their whole revenue to the mother houses; while others were self-governed and merely yielded some slight tribute. After the cession to France of the Duchy of Normandy, the former class of priories became a source of income to the French kings, and on this account were frequently seized by the Plantagenets in time of war. They were as often restored on the declaration of peace. At last an Act of Parliament was passed in the second year of Henry V. absolutely suppressing those priories which were actually alien, and granting their possessions to the Crown "à l'entent

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. p. 294.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 295—297.

[3] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 393—403.

que divines services en les lieux avaunt ditz purront pluis duement estre faitz par gentz Englois en temps à venir, que n'ont este faitz avaunt ces heures en ycelles par gentz Fraunceys."[1] Most of the property thus confiscated passed into the hands of Henry VI.; and the English envoys to the Council of Basel were specially instructed to defend these proceedings on national grounds.[2] The suppression of the Alien Priories has been cited as a precedent for the dissolution of the monasteries in the next century; but the purposes to which the proceeds were applied were very different. Henry of Lancaster transferred the property from French to English monasteries, or, at most, from the regular to the secular clergy. Henry Tudor dispersed his plunder among a number of worthless courtiers, and then applied to Parliament for new subsidies.

A portion of the estates still held by Eton College were taken from such abbeys as Fécamp, Fontenoy, Yvry, and St. Stephen's at Caen; but the largest grants were made from the former possessions of Herlouin-Bec, the great Benedictine establishment which had sent forth Lanfranc and Anselm into England. Some of them were named after it—as Tooting-bec, Weedon-bec, and Bekford. Many of the original title-deeds, attested by fine seals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, passed with the estates, and may now be seen in the library at Eton.

In addition to these possessions of the Alien Priories, which were scattered over a great part of England, the

[1] Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, volume vi. page 985. There is a fuller history of the Alien Priories in Oliver's *Monasticon Dioecesis Exon*, pp. 423—425.

[2] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 263—265.

King took care that the College should hold property in its own immediate neighbourhood. With this object he purchased various lands in the Counties of Bucks and Berks, as well as certain rights of fishery in the Thames. He also bought up all the available houses, gardens, and fields in Eton itself; and, by a series of grants extending over several years, made over all these new acquisitions to the Provost and College. Almost every little plot of ground had its own distinctive name, often derived from the name of some former owner. Thus we come across such names as Hunderscombe-garden, Rolveshawe, and Cowepenning. Most of these fifteenth-century names have fallen into disuse, the principal exceptions being Coldnorton, Southfield, Bullockslock, and Jourdelay's Place. The King's-Worth clearly forms part of the present Playing-Fields, and a careful antiquary might doubtless identify all the old localities by means of early leases, &c. Here, however, we are concerned about the history of the College, rather than the topography of the Parish of Eton.

The King's successive charters of endowment received the sanction of several parliaments, which also granted to the College various feudal rights in its manors, such as escheat, forfeiture, wardship, fines, treasure-trove, and wreckage. Its property was, moreover, exempted from the jurisdiction of the King's marshals, stewards, and coroners, as well as from all payments under the heads of hidage, scutage, aids, and the maintenance of soldiers or ships. This exemption extended even to the regular taxes granted to the Kings of England by the Convocations, by Parliament, or by the Pope. As a special precaution against any dearth of food at Eton, all the inhabitants were

exempted from the jurisdiction of the King's purveyors, and from having any of his officers or servants quartered upon them.[1]

The King and Parliament were able to make these and other similar civil grants to the College; but the former was anxious to secure for it special ecclesiastical privileges. For this purpose his envoys in Italy were instructed to apply for Papal Indulgences which would attract strangers to Eton, and make its name famous throughout England. They succeeded in obtaining a Bull granting to all penitents who should thenceforth visit the Collegiate Church of Eton at the Feast of the Assumption, the same Indulgences which could be obtained on the 1st of August at the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula at Rome. All who wished to partake of these privileges were ordered to contribute towards the maintenance of the College, and were advised to offer prayers for the Founder.[2] A year, however, had not quite elapsed from the date of this Bull, before Eugenius IV. was induced to enlarge its provisions, by making the Indulgence plenary instead of partial. At the same time he warily introduced a clause providing that three-quarters of the offerings of the penitents should be devoted towards the defence of Christendom against the Turks,[3] an object in which he naturally took more interest than in the prosperity of a new college in a distant land. The Lord Chancellor was only intrusted with one key of the alms-box at Eton, the other being committed to the Pope's Collector in England.[4]

Chester and Caunton may have represented that

[1] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes, Rolls of Parliament*, &c.
[2] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 297—299.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 299—302.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 302—303.

these changes did not really promote the cause which they had most at heart, for another Bull was issued in favour of Eton a few weeks later. The Provost was thereby authorized to hear the confessions of all members of the College, either personally or by deputy, and, if desirable, to release them from excommunications, suspensions, and interdicts, and even to absolve them once in cases specially reserved for the consideration of the Holy See. Inasmuch as the penance was in some cases to be continued by the *heirs* of deceased penitents, it seems pretty clear that it must ordinarily have consisted of a monetary payment. The Pope, however, tried to guard against the possibility of persons committing deliberate sin in the expectation of an easy absolution, by making certain fasts a necessary part of the penance.[1]

Soon after the receipt of the Bulls of Indulgence, Archbishop Chichele wrote to the Bishop of Exeter ordering him to publish them in his diocese, and describing them as more ample than any hitherto issued by any Pope.[2] The acceptance or publication of Papal Bulls was strictly illegal in England at this period under the Statutes of Provisors, and offenders were liable to suffer deprivation of their property, and indefinite imprisonment of their persons.[3] Henry VI. took care to provide against such a contingency in the case of the members of his new College, by procuring a parliamentary pardon in their favour for all Bulls already received, and a general licence to receive others in future.[4] In May 1443 a third agent was despatched to the Papal Court, in the person of Vincent Clement,

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 303—306.

[2] Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 537, quoting Bp. Lacy's *Register*, f. 239.

[3] Gibson's *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici*.

[4] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, p. 418.

a foreigner, for whom Henry VI. had, with some difficulty, obtained a degree at the University of Oxford.[1] We must, however, leave him on his journey to Rome in order to revert to the progress of affairs at Eton.

The foundation-stone of the College was undoubtedly laid by the King himself below the future site of the high altar,[2] but little progress was made with the new Church during the first few years of the work. The building accounts of John Hampton, surveyor of the works, have been preserved among the muniments at Eton, his *Journale anno primo* commencing on the 3rd July, 1441. The King had already directed the Lord Chancellor to issue letters to the master-mason, authorizing him "to take," or impress,[3] "as many masons, where so ever they may be founden, as may be thought necessary."[4] The number of workmen varied considerably in different weeks, but the wages were settled on a regular scale. All the skilled men received three shillings a week apiece; except that the sawyers, carpenters, and ordinary masons only received half-a-crown in those numerous weeks which contained some holydays: while the freemasons received their entire wages irrespectively of Saints'-days and anniversaries. The common labourers were paid at the rate of 4*d.* a day. These wages are rather lower than some paid elsewhere at the same date; but, on the other hand, no reduction

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. pp. lxxiv, 231.

[2] Capgrave, *De Illustribus Henricis*, p. 133.

[3] This branch of the royal prerogative was still in force. The *Building Accounts* mention several men as "in prest."

[4] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 43, 46; where, however, the editor mentions Bekynton as "Chancellor of England." The document was obviously addressed to Bishop Stafford, Bekynton's predecessor at Bath, who *was* Chancellor of England.

was made in winter, when the hours for work were of course shorter. The workmen at Eton were, moreover, supplied with tools, as appears from fines imposed on some of their number "for breking of a traye," "for breking a scope," "for breking of a shovell,"

Like workmen of our own time, they used to dine in the middle of the day, and they were fined if not back at work again "at one of clocke." A whole batch of men forfeited a day's wages on one occasion because "they wolde not go to their work till two of clock;" and others got into trouble for "late cumming." A modern Trade-Union would probably support a member who was fined merely because "he wold kepe his oures, and ne go to worke till the clock smyte." Even one of the freemasons lost half a day's pay for going away without leave.

The men were under strict supervision during working hours, and fines were imposed on such as were found "fyting," or who "wrostled and playde, and ron about in working time." The paymaster naturally raised objections to a man who "wol not do nor labor but as he list hyselfe," or who "will not do as he is bedyn." The fine "for shedding lime" was 6*d.*; that "for looking about," "for playing," or "for chiding," 2*d.* The overseer was also severe upon one who "wolde tell tailes;" and another who insisted on "telling tailes and letting[1] his felowes."

Large quantities of stone were annually conveyed to Eton from various parts of England in barges either coming down the Thames from Culham, or up from London, the freight from the latter place costing 1*s.* 4*d.* per ton. The cheapest stone

[1] *i.e.*, hindering.

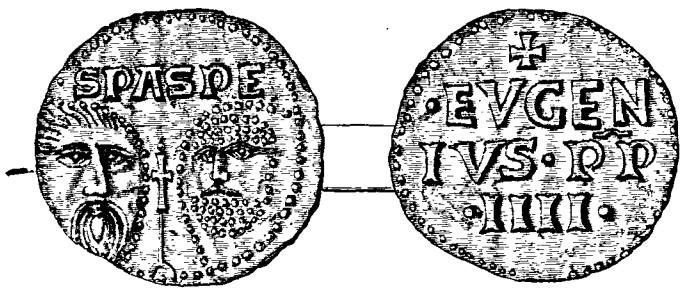
employed was the "ragg," from Boughton, near Maidstone; the most expensive was the Caen stone. The largest quantities, however, came from Huddleston in Yorkshire, the quarry which also supplied the stone for King's College Chapel. Iron was brought from London, and lead from "ye Peak" in Derbyshire. Oak came from various parts of the country; but elm was found in abundance in the immediate neighbourhood of Eton. All the wood was kept ready for use in a field on the further side of the road, called the "Timberhaw," which afterwards became corrupted into "Timbrells," but which is now called "Sixpenny" in the cricket season, and "the Field" when football prevails. A special kiln for bricks was made at "le Slough" in 1442, and thenceforth we come across mention of the "breke layeer" who must have been engaged on the dwelling-rooms of the College.[1] Matters were sufficiently advanced by 1442 to allow of the School, at least, being opened.

Wykeham's College at Winchester had been the model for Eton in many respects; and it was to Winchester that Henry VI. had recourse for assistance in the task of giving real, as well as legal existence, to his new foundation. On his first visit thither he must have noticed the great capacities and lofty aspirations of William of Waynflete, then Master; and he could not have selected a man of more practical experience or sounder judgment. There are at least two separate biographies of this great churchman to whom Eton owes so much, from which we find that his original surname was Patten. Under this name he

[1] Some of these notices respecting the building works have already been given in Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. p. 338, and others in the *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. iv. pp. 117—118.

was educated at Oxford; but at the time of his ordination as sub-deacon, in 1421, he assumed that of his birthplace, Waynflete, in Lincolnshire, according to a practice then not uncommon. He was appointed Master of Winchester in 1429, and, together with that post, he held the Mastership of a small Hospital in that City, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, whom he afterwards selected as the patroness of his College at Oxford.[1] William of Waynflete had been Master at Winchester for about eleven years, when Henry VI. induced him to resign that office for the corresponding one at Eton. He was accompanied by five Fellows and thirty-five Scholars of Winchester,[2] who thus formed the nucleus of a school which has, in course of time, outstripped the older institution in prosperity and in fame.

[1] Chandler's *Life of William Waynflete.*
[2] Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 135.



Bulla of Pope Eugenius IV.

1442-1447.

Thomas Bekynton—Admission of Waynflete as Provost—Winchester and Eton—Bulls of Indulgence—Confessors at Eton—Fairs on Ash-Wednesday—Books, Vestments, Jewels, and Relics—Death of Cardinal Beaufort—Promotion of Waynflete—Provosts Clerk and Westbury.

ONE of the earliest and most constant patrons of the rising College of Eton was Thomas Bekynton, whom we have already noticed as a Wykehamist, and as Secretary to Henry VI. In this latter capacity he had the management of the negotiations with the Papal Court respecting the Bulls for Eton, and of other matters connected with the foundation. He soon caught the infection of his patron's enthusiasm, and devoted his best energies to the work. When starting on a journey to Bordeaux, in 1441, he specially commended himself to the prayers of the Provost and Fellows.[1] When becalmed at sea on the way, he vowed an offering to the Blessed Virgin of Eton, and persuaded some of his companions

[1] *Letters of Margaret of Anjou* (*Camden Society*), p. 79.

to do likewise. They all then joined in an antiphon in her honour; after which, we are told, a favourable wind arose.[1] An inventory taken in the next century shows that this was not the only offering which he made to the College, as mention is made of sixty-three silver spoons, with gilt knobs, marked with the letters T and B on each side of an episcopal cross.[2] He must have presented them after his elevation to the See of Bath and Wells.

Dr. Bekynton is said to have accompanied the first batch of King's Scholars from Eton to the sister College of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, at Cambridge;[3] and he certainly witnessed the ceremony by which two Masters of Arts were admitted nominal members of Eton, as a preliminary step towards becoming Fellows of King's.[4] One of his last acts as Archdeacon of Bucks consisted in exempting Eton from his own jurisdiction, and that of his successors in the Archdeaconry. The arrangement to this effect was confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln, who decreed that the College should pay 1*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* for the privilege, out of the receipts of the manor of Bledlow.[5] This was in September, 1443, and we may notice an instance of the continuity of our ecclesiastical institutions, in the fact that the money is still paid to the Archdeacon year after year. The Provost exercises archidiaconal jurisdiction in the whole Parish of Eton, and it is perhaps on this account that he and his predecessors have always been entitled to a seat in the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. p. 184.

[2] *Inventories of Goods at Eton*, temp. Henr. VIII.

[3] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. p. xlv.

[4] Eton Muniment Room, drawer 40, No. 4.

[5] *Ibid.* drawer 48, Nos. 3, 4.

When Bekynton was rewarded for his good services by being elevated to the See of Bath and Wells, he selected Eton as the place of his consecration. The ceremony was performed on the 13th of November, 1443, "in the old Collegiate Church of the Blessed Mary of Eton," the officiating prelates being Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, Ayscough of Salisbury, and Ashby of Llandaff. After the conclusion of the service, Bekynton, attired in his new episcopal robes, proceeded across the cemetery to the site of the future Church, whose walls as yet only rose a few feet from the ground. An altar, protected from the weather by a tent or awning, had been erected for the occasion immediately over the spot where Henry VI. had laid the foundation-stone; and there it was that Bekynton celebrated his first mass as Bishop. He afterwards broke his fast at a banquet which he gave to the assembled visitors in one of the new buildings, not yet partitioned off into separate rooms.[1]

Bekynton came to Eton once more that year, as joint Commissioner with the Earl of Suffolk, for the purpose of formally opening the College. It seems doubtful whether Henry Sever, who was designated as the first Provost in the Charters of Foundation and of Endowment, ever held more than a titular office. He cannot have held even that for very long, and he is chiefly remarkable as a benefactor to Merton College, of which he was subsequently appointed Warden.[2]

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. p. cxix.

[2] Wood's extraordinary statement that Henry Sever was *Dean of Westminster*, has been implicitly accepted and repeated by Sir E. Creasy, and by the editors of the *Registrum Regale*. They all seem to have forgotten that Westminster was a monastery until the reign of Henry VIII. Sever died in 1471; and the first *Dean* was appointed in 1540. Inasmuch, moreover, as he was a secular priest he could hardly have been *Abbot*. This confu-

Waynflete was certainly Provost of Eton in the autumn of 1443, and he was the first person to appear before the Commissioners in December, in the choir of the Collegiate Church. A royal dispensation was then read, temporarily suspending all those portions of the Statutes which related to buildings, &c., as yet incomplete; after which Waynflete knelt down and reverently swore to obey the Statutes. He was then formally installed in the principal seat on the south side of the choir, and proceeded to tender the oaths to the Fellows, Clerks, Scholars and Choristers. The full number of each of these grades was still incomplete,[1] but the members then present became the nucleus of a corporate body, which has lived through more than four centuries of English history. Some additions were made to the Statutes a few years later, but their principal enactments were already definitely settled. The revised code of Henry VI. was nominally in force till 1872; but for many generations past, it had been "more honoured in the breach than the observance." A sketch of the constitution and regulations enjoined by the Founder will be found in an appendix; but we may here observe some of the alterations which he introduced in it from his original scheme of 1440. Ten Chaplains were added to assist at divine service; the number of Clerks was raised from four to ten, and that of the Choristers from six to sixteen. A still larger increase was made in the School, which was henceforth to consist of seventy Scholars, instead of twenty-five, and an Usher was provided to assist the Master in the work of education. On the other hand, the only

sion of ideas has been rivalled by the ingenuity which identified Henry Sever with a bishop of Durham, who died in 1505, and whose Christian name was William!

[1] Eton Muniment Room, drawer 46, No. 1.

reduction made, was in the number of the Bedesmen, which was to be thirteen instead of twenty-five. These larger numbers were exactly copied from those at Winchester,[1] except that Wykeham had only provided for three Chaplains and three Clerks, and that his College did not include an almshouse. We shall hereafter see how the actual number of members fell short of that prescribed by Henry VI.

The kindly interest with which the members of Winchester had from the first viewed the foundation of a rival institution at Eton was not impaired by any kind of jealousy. The promotion of Waynflete to the Provostship rather strengthened the tie, which bound the two Colleges together, especially as he was succeeded in the management of the School by William Westbury,[2] who had actually received his education at Winchester.[3] So warm, indeed, was the feeling of friendship between the collegiate foundations of Wykeham and Henry VI., that in 1444 an attempt was made to express it in legal form. Under the direction of their respective Wardens and Provosts, the four Colleges combined in a solemn covenant to assist and support one another mutually in all causes, trials, and difficulties through all future ages. The only exception to the ample promises then interchanged, was a proviso that the Wykehamists should never be called upon to act in opposition to the Bishop or Convent of Winchester; and a clause based on common sense, relieved each of the contracting Colleges from incurring excessive pecuniary expenses on behalf of the others.[4] The close bond of union

[1] Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 131.
[2] *Eton Audit Roll.*
[3] *Epitaph in Rawl MS.* B. 267.
[4] Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, pp. 141—143.

between Winchester and Eton, thus confirmed, lasted for many years, and friendly relations have ever been cultivated between these two great institutions.

Henry VI. had occasion to be at Winchester frequently, in the first few years after the foundation of Eton, and he used to make a point of visiting the College,[1] whose ideas and system he had so freely adopted. It is interesting to notice that in 1444 the very cloth for the Eton gowns was purchased at Winchester.[2]

We must now revert to Vincent Clement, who, as we have seen in the first chapter, started for Italy in May, 1443.[3] Eugenius IV. was no longer at Florence, having returned to his proper residence at Rome, and thither Clement followed him. In answer to a letter reporting his safe arrival at Siena, the envoy received from Bishop Bekynton a distinct statement of his patron's wishes. "I would have you believe that it will be far more acceptable to the King to obtain one moderate perpetual Indulgence than a great and ample one,"[4] limited to a lifetime. Two months later Bekynton wrote again, saying that a thousand ducats had been placed to Clement's credit for the due prosecution of the affair.[5] Several of the letters from Rome seem to have miscarried, and the King became very anxious as to the state of the negotiations. "His daily enquiry is this, 'When shall we have news of Master Vincent? When will letters reach us concerning his doings?'"[6] Bekynton's letter to this effect must have crossed one from Clement written at Rome, on the last day of the

[1] Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 137.
[2] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1444—1445.
[3] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. p. 231.
[4] *Ibid.* vol i. p. 160.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 186.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 174.

year, in a desponding spirit. Failure seemed inevitable; and failure would involve the loss of King Henry's favour.[1] A fortnight later, the envoy had somewhat better news to communicate, inasmuch as he had secured the assistance of the Pope's Chamberlain, and other members of the Court, who would soon ascertain for him the exact price at which the Indulgence could be purchased.[2] Bekynton answered these letters in March, assuring Clement that he still stood well with the King, who was as hopeful as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bekynton himself.[3]

Clement's mission eventually proved successful, for in May 1444, the much-desired Bull was issued, confirming and extending the previous Indulgences. The licence was made perpetual, and the objectionable clause respecting the distribution of the offerings of the penitents was entirely omitted. In fact, the power of granting plenary Indulgences at the Feast of the Assumption at Eton was made unconditional.[4] The Provost could certainly be trusted to exact ample payments from the pilgrims, when the money was to be exclusively devoted to the maintenance and aggrandisement of his own College.

Eugenius IV. was induced to grant further privileges to Eton some time later, by a Bull authorizing the Eton confessors, at the Feast of the Assumption, to commute the vows of all penitents, except vows of pilgrimages to Rome, or to St. Iago of Compostella. The Provost and his deputies were moreover empowered to give Indulgences of seven years

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. p. 175.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 179.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 178.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. ii. 306—309. There is a duplicate of this document, with the leaden Bulla attached, in the British Museum. *Additional Charter*, 15,569. (See p. 17.)

a-piece, to pilgrims who should in any future year devoutly visit the Collegiate Church on any of the festivals of the Blessed Virgin, or of St. Nicholas, or on that of the Translation of St. Edward the Confessor.[1]

More than this, it was almost impossible for a Pope to grant. The King was so pleased at the result of the negotiations, that he marked the receipt of the Bulls by exercising his prerogative of mercy, in pardoning two persons, who, for high treason, had been condemned to be "drawen, hanged and quartered."[2]

According to the strict teaching of the Roman Church, an Indulgence was not, as some Protestant controversialists have imagined, a remission of sin past or future. The former could only be given in absolution; the latter not at all. An Indulgence was (or professed to be) the remission of the penalty owing for sins already pardoned, called penance in this life, and purgatory afterwards.[3] Thus these Bulls of Eugenius IV. specifically limited the benefit of the Indulgences to persons who were really penitent, and had duly confessed. The staff of priests ordinarily attached to the Collegiate Church of Eton was, of course, utterly insufficient to meet the spiritual wants of the crowds of persons who were attracted thither by the Indulgences, and they had to procure external assistance. The earliest audit-roll preserved at Eton records a payment of *2l. 3s. 11d.* for the hire of thirty beds for confessors and their servants, at the Feast of the Assumption, 1445.[4] In subsequent

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 309—311. Jan. 25, 1446.

[2] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 280, 390, and Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xi. pp. 178—179, July 14, 1447.

[3] Wiseman's *Lectures on the Catholic Church*, vol. ii. p. 71, and Milner's *End of Religious Controversy*, p. 302.

[4] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1444—

years the ceremonies were attended by "various bishops and confessors."[1] Henry VI., moreover, added a Statute to the original code, exacting an oath from every Fellow that, in the event of his ever being elevated to the episcopate, he would annually attend the Festival of the Assumption at Eton.[2]

The Papal Bulls were hung up in the Collegiate Church for the inspection of visitors;[3] but notwithstanding the trouble and expense incurred for them, they do not appear to have proved very profitable. Indeed, the cost of entertaining so many strangers used to exceed the amount of the offerings, which only ranged from 20*l.* to 30*l.* a year.[4]

It may have been as some assistance towards meeting the charges of hospitality that the King granted to the College three tuns of red wine of Gascony, to be delivered annually in London, free of charge.[5] It will be remembered that that vine-bearing country then formed part of the dominions of Henry VI. The English were shortly after expelled from the whole of Aquitaine, and in subsequent ages the College was paid in money instead of in kind.[6] A special provision for the temporal wants of the pilgrims to Eton was made by the establishment of an annual fair on the six working days following the Feast of the Assumption. The site recommended was called "Michelmyldshey," which must have been near the further end of the

1445. "In conductione xxx lectorum ordinatorum pro confessoribus et eorum servientibus."

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1452—1453, 1457—1458, 1459—1460.

[2] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, p. 619.

[3] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1459—1460. "Pro scriptura rotulorum indulgentiarum, vj^{s}. viij^{d}., et pro factura unius casulæ pro dicto rotulo ad pendendum in ecclesia, ij^{s}."

[4] *Eton Audit Rolls*, passim.

[5] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 416—422.

[6] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxviii No. 57.

Playing-Fields. This meadow was also to be used for a fair on the three days following Ash-Wednesday, doubtless intended for the due supply of Lenten provisions. Both these fairs were exempted from the jurisdiction of the King's purveyors, marshals, and officers, and placed entirely under the control of the Provost.[1] Some traces of the latter fair survived to quite recent times, though its site and purpose had been changed in the course of four centuries. The main road through Eton was found more accessible than Michelmyldshey, and pigs a more lucrative article of commerce than salt fish. Many old Etonians can remember the fairs on Ash-Wednesday, and the vain attempts of the farmers to defend the unfortunate animals from the mischievous boys, who used to cut off the pigs' tails as trophies. The combination of all the lessons of a "whole schoolday" with the Church services of a holyday on Ash-Wednesday in the present century was probably due rather to the humane instincts of the authorities, than to any desire on their part to mark Lent as a penitential season.

The two fairs were established by Henry VI. to provide for the exceptional wants of the College; but in those days, when the facilities for communication were not so great as at present, the rapid growth of Eton was felt to be a severe strain on the ordinary resources of the immediate neighbourhood. A petition was accordingly addressed "to the King, oure soveraine lord and gracious founder," reciting—"how that youre College Roiall of oure most blessed Lady of Eton, and the inhabitants withynne the same toune, scholers, artificers, and laborers theder resortyng, have had many times hereafore, and yette have,

[1] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 427—428.

grete scarstee of brede, ale, and other vitailles, for default of a markett in the same toun." The specific request of the College for a weekly market on Wednesdays was at once granted by letters patent.[1]

In 1446 the Provost and Fellows of King's combined with those of Eton in another petition, stating that neither of these Colleges "nowe late fownded and newe growyng" were sufficiently supplied with books for divine service and for their libraries and studies, or with vestments or ornaments, "which thinges may not be had withowte great and diligente labour be longe processe and right besy inquisition." They therefore begged that the King would be pleased to order Richard Chester, one of his chaplains, to "take to hym suche men as shall be seen to hym expedient and profitable, and in especial John Pye," the King's "Stacioner of London, and other suche as ben connyng and have undirstonding in suche matiers," charging them all "to laboure effectually, inquere and diligently inserche in all place that ben under" the King's "obeysaunce to gete knowleche where suche bokes, onourmentes, and other necessaries for" the "saide colleges may be founden to selle." They were anxious that Richard Chester should have authority "to bye take and receive alle suche goods afore eny other man . . . . satisfying to the owners of suche godes suche pris as thei may resonably accorde and agree. Soo that he may have the ferste choise of alle suche goodes afore eny other man and in especiall of all maner bokes, ornementes, and other necessaries as nowe late were perteynyng to the Duke of Gloucestre."[2]

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4839, ff. 139—141.

[2] The Rev. George Williams gives an interesting account of the disposition of the goods of Duke Humphrey, who was a col-

Another petition, relating to the ornaments of the two Colleges, conceived in a very different spirit, was presented to the Founder in the same year. It proceeded from a certain Robert Cocksale, vestment-maker, of London, who evidently entertained some doubts as to the solvency or honesty of the new Colleges, as his prayer was for permission to retain his goods, until he received payment for them. The vestments had been ordered by Langton, late Bishop of St. David's, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. The principal item in the account for Eton was for a set consisting of a chasuble and two tunicles, and two copes of white satin, embroidered with gold, evidently intended for use on great festivals. They cost the large sum of 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, besides extras for lining, &c. There is a curious charge of 1*s.* 6*d.* for "hallowing" or consecrating the vestments. Cocksale's bill amounted to over 240*l.*, of which considerably more than half was charged to the account of King's College.[1] So too Henry VI. in his Will, some two years later, left 500*l.* to his College at Cambridge "for to stuff them with jewells for the service of God;" but only 200*l.* to Eton "for to purvey them books to the pleasure of God."[2] The reason for this apparent preference of one College over the other may be found in the fact that the new foundation at Eton got the benefit of all the ornaments, &c., of the old Parochial Church. Thus, in the earliest audit rolls, payments are recorded for the *repair* of vestments.

The King presented the College with relics and

lector of ecclesiastical treasures, as well as of books, in the *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xx. pp. 304—315, and vol. xxi. pp. 1—4.

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xvi. pp. 6—8.

[2] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, p. 185, where, however, as in the other printed version of the "Will," the sum given to King's College is wrongly set down as 200*l.*

jewels on, at least, three separate occasions. One of his gifts consisted of a finger-joint and part of the spine of John the Confessor, formerly Prior of Bridlington, which had been given to him by the monks of that convent.[1] Another consisted of a portion of the jewels which the Duke of Gloucester had arranged to purchase from the Abbey of St. Albans, but which, after his death, the King had managed to secure for a large sum.[2] Intermediate in time, and perhaps in intrinsic value between these two, came the "Tablet of Bourbon," which was said to contain portions of the blood of our Lord, of His cross, of "the glorious Virgin Mary His Mother, and of His most blessed Confessor Nicholas, and of Katharine the Virgin, and of other martyrs, confessors, and virgins." This precious tablet was one of the jewels on the security of which Cardinal Beaufort had lent a large sum of money to the Crown. The Cardinal bequeathed it unconditionally to Henry VI.; but there must have been some understanding between them on the subject, as the King describes himself as merely a trustee for the conveyance of the jewel to Eton.[3] The same prelate gave a more direct and more substantial legacy to his great-nephew's new foundations, in the shape of 1,000*l.* to each, which was to be deducted from the money still owing to him by the King. He thus hoped to secure a special collect at one of the ordinary daily masses in the two Collegiate Churches, and an annual observance of the anniversary of his death.[4] Blakman's account of the transaction is more touching, but, though nearly contemporary, evidently less correct. According to him, the 2,000*l.* were

[1] Eton Muniment Room, drawer 48, No. 12.

[2] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xxi. pp. 1—4.

[3] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 44—46.

[4] Nichols's *Royal Wills*, pp. 338—339.

first offered by the Cardinal's executors to Henry VI., who refused them, saying: "He was always a most kind uncle to me while he lived. God reward him! Fulfil his intentions. I will not take the money."[1] The codicil in favour of Eton and King's was only executed on the 9th of April, 1447, and the Cardinal died on the 11th.

Beaufort's death produced consequences far more important to the welfare of Eton than the mere acquisition of a jewel or a legacy; it gave occasion for the removal of the first real working Provost. The King was informed of the death of his great-uncle on the very day of its occurrence, and he at once wrote to the Prior and Convent of Winchester bidding them elect William of Waynflete as their bishop. This letter must have crossed one from them; so the King wrote a second time urging them to proceed "in al godely haast."[2] Waynflete was accordingly elected by a unanimous vote on the 13th April, and the fact was duly notified to the King and to the Pope. The former, of course, signified his formal approval of the election without difficulty; but the latter appeared to be in the not unfrequent dilemma of having to choose between waiving his own claims to nominate, and giving offence to so orthodox and pious a prince as Henry VI. There was, however, a convenient fiction by which such difficulties could be surmounted; and the Pope made use of it, in declaring that he had already "provided" Waynflete to the see of Winchester, during the life of the late Bishop. Waynflete at first refused the proffered dignity, saying that it was too great for him; but we have no means of judging whether his *nolo episco-*

[1] Hearne's *Otterbourne*, vol. i. p. 294.

[2] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*.

pari was more than a decorous form. Anyhow, the messengers from Winchester found the Provost of Eton in the Collegiate Church one evening towards sunset, and succeeded in persuading him to obey the call.[1]

Henry VI. must have been brought into close contact with Waynflete during the slow progress of the works at Eton, and must have noticed in him that combination of earnestness and prudence which is so desirable in a statesman. For such a man the little world of a college was really too narrow. It would at first sight appear that, in removing him from Eton, the King was sacrificing the best interests of his own favourite foundation to those of the Diocese of Winchester. Yet such was not the case; and the course of subsequent events shows that this appointment proved the very salvation of Eton College. The great authority and influence, political as well as ecclesiastical, of the See of Winchester enabled its occupant to act as the protector of smaller institutions. The promotion of the Provost likewise attracted public attention to the place which he was about to resign; and publicity was naturally one of the Founder's aims.

Waynflete selected the scene of his labours and his honours as that of his consecration; but, before this could take place, he had to take the regular oath, disclaiming everything in the Pope's Bull of Provision which in any way infringed on the rights of the English Crown.[2] Bekynton had, as we have seen,[3] been consecrated in the old Collegiate Church of Eton, and similar rites had, in 144$\frac{3}{4}$, been performed over John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester.[4] Waynflete's consecration, in

[1] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*, pp. 37, 39, 312.

[2] Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, vol. iii. p. 15.

[3] Page 20.

[4] Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum*.

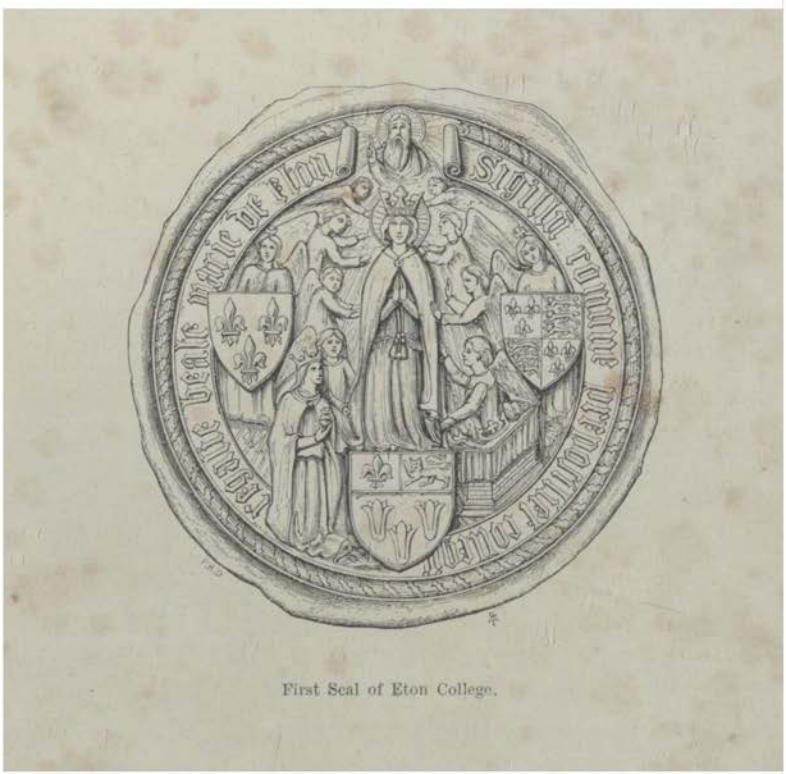
July 1447,[1] was therefore the third that had taken place there within four years. The members of his former College at Winchester resolved to do honour to their future Visitor, and presented him with a horse which cost them more than 6*l.* The Warden and others rode to Eton to attend the ceremony, and there distributed 13*s.* 4*d.* amongst the scholars.[2]

John Clerk, the Vice-Provost, was elected to succeed Waynflete in the management of the College.[3] Nothing is recorded of him except that he had resigned a good piece of ecclesiastical preferment in order to become a Fellow of Eton.[4] Nor did he live long enough to acquire any reputation in his new capacity. Clerk's tenure of the Provostship was shorter than that of any of his successors except Bruerne's, and even less eventful. He died four months after his election, and was succeeded by the Head-Master, William Westbury, under whom the College experienced strange vicissitudes. Westbury was elected in November 1447; and in the following January he went to Winchester to be present at the enthronement of Bishop Waynflete in the Cathedral Church. The pomp of the ceremony was enhanced by the presence of Henry VI. and his Court, among the members of which we may specially notice Bishop Bekynton. The Provosts of Eton and King's, with their suites, were entertained at breakfast in Wykeham's College, and dined in the Warden's hall.[5] The enthronement may have been postponed to suit the King's convenience, but Waynflete had already entered upon his episcopal

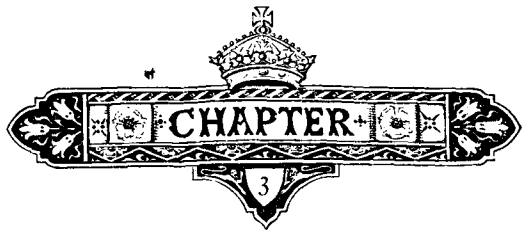
[1] Stubbs's *Registrum Sacrum.*
[2] Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 143.
[3] *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 2.
[4] Eton Muniment Room, drawer 46, No. 1.
[5] Walcott's *William of Wykeham*, pp. 137—138, 143—144.

duties. By special permission of the Bishop of Lincoln he held his first ordination in the Church of Eton;[1] perhaps as an earnest that his advancement to one of the highest dignities in the realm would in no way lessen the affectionate interest which he took in his patron's noble foundation.

[1] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*, p. 41. Dec. 23, 1447.



First Seal of Eton College.



1447–1460.

Designs for the Buildings—Magnificence of the proposed Church—Adaptation of the old Church—Completion of the Hall, &c.—The Hospital of St. James—Confirmation of Property—Eton Heraldry—Papal Bulls—William Weye's Travels—Characteristics of Henry VI.

A BODY of clergy had been collected, and a school opened at Eton, so soon after the formal foundation, that few or none of the buildings contemplated by the King could have been ready to receive the original members. It seems clear that the first constructive works undertaken were temporary alterations and additions to certain houses and barns which then occupied part of the site of the future College. Accommodation had to be found for a considerable number of workmen, as well as for the priests and scholars. The freemasons were for many years allowed to use a house adjoining the churchyard either as a shop or as a dwelling.[1] The labourers and some of

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1482—1483. "Pro emendatione magni hostii inter cimiterium et casam latomorum."

the boys were quartered in the town. Some security against evil communications was provided by a clause in an Act of Parliament forbidding the inhabitants of Eton to take in any lodgers without the permission of the Provost;[1] and every spare room in the town was thus practically placed at his disposal.

None of the early building-accounts preserved at Eton contain any entries sufficiently distinct to enable us to ascertain the plan on which the College was being erected. Our first comprehensive view of what was intended is derived from two papers which were discovered among the muniments a few years ago.[2] One of them is headed, "The appointment made by the King, oure al Soverain Lord, as touching certain dimensions of the Church of his College Roial of oure blessed Lady of Eton;" and bears date Windsor, the 7th of February, $144\frac{7}{8}$. The other consists of a single sheet, signed by the King himself, giving the dimensions which he had chosen for "the housing" of the College. Both these MSS. seem merely to have been rough drafts for portions of a formal document generally known as the Will of King Henry VI., which agrees with them almost word for word. This "Will" is really nothing more than the King's instructions with regard to his two great foundations at Eton and at Cambridge.[3] One of the three original

[1] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, p. 422.

[2] These two papers are now kept in one of the glass cases in the library at Eton.

[3] The entire "Will" has been printed at least twice, viz. in Nichols's *Royal Wills*, and in Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, and large extracts from it have been inserted in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, and in Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*. It would, however, have been as well, in the interests of philology as well as of architectural history, if this version had never been printed, as it is only calculated to mislead inquirers. The very spelling of the words, in a docu-

copies of this important document is preserved in the library at Eton, and bears the Great Seal of England, that of the Duchy of Lancaster, and three other official seals, as well as the Sign-Manual. It is dated Eton, the 12th of March, $144\frac{7}{8}$, and begins by reciting the King's previous conveyance to a body of feoffees of certain lands, &c., yielding nearly 3,400*l.* a year, which formerly accrued to the Duchy of Lancaster. The feoffees were various archbishops, bishops, nobles, clerks, and others, in whom Henry VI. reposed special confidence; but Bishop Waynflete was named as the principal executor and director of the will. The main object of the document was to order these feoffees to pay 1,000*l.* a year to the Provost of each of the two new Colleges for the next twenty years, and as much longer as the buildings remained unfinished; at the same time, specifying the exact designs chosen by the Founder for the buildings at Cambridge and at Eton. The latter alone concern us; and even with respect to them we need not enter into minute detail, as the scheme was soon abandoned, or

ment of such importance, is valuable, as showing the most correct *English* of the time at which it was written; but it is hardly too much to say, that most of the archaisms which appear in the printed version are spurious, while those which really exist in the original have been altered. So much for the spelling. When we turn from the form to the substance we shall find the case still worse; for some sentences have been omitted, and many of the principal measurements wrongly given. Thus 1,200 feet have been mentioned where the proper figure is 700, 1,010 instead of 510, 22 instead of 32, &c. None of the later writers who have quoted the "Will" can have consulted the original. They may have been deceived by the specious transcript in the British Museum, made by Baker, the historian of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is more difficult to frame any excuse for Baker's gross carelessness, inasmuch as the original MS. is a beautiful specimen of calligraphy, more easily legible, in fact, than many early productions of the printing press!

rather modified, by Henry VI. himself. It is interesting, however, as showing his ideal of the requirements of a great seat of learning and piety, and as illustrating certain provisions in the Statutes, which would otherwise be unintelligible.

First we may remark that there was no fixed model to which all collegiate buildings should conform. William of Wykeham's two foundations differ from one another in appearance and shape as much as they do from all others. So too Henry VI. did not attempt to erect both his Colleges on one plan. In each case he had to be guided by the nature and disposition of the ground. The low situation of Eton rendered it very liable to inundation, and precautions had to be taken against this danger; partly by raising the ground to certain specified levels, and partly by turning "the water at Baldewyne brigge . . . . overthwart into the River of Thamyse."

The precinct of the College was to be 3,590 feet in circumference, and its walls were to stretch from the high road on the west to the river on the east. The principal gateway was to be on the north-west (on or near the site of the house lately occupied by Mrs. Stevens) and was to give access to an outer court. On the right (or south) side of this was to be built an almshouse containing sixteen rooms, besides a kitchen, buttery, and offices. The gardens for the poor men may be approximately placed on the site of Weston's Yard. On the opposite (or north) side of the outer court, were to be erected the collegiate bakehouse, brewery, stables, &c., as at Winchester, "with chambres for the steuardes, auditours, and other lerned counsell and ministres of the seid College." Here was also to be the infirmary.

Nearly opposite to the outer gatehouse, Henry VI. intended to build a second gateway leading to the main quadrangle of the College, and surmounted by a fair tower. The vaulting of this gateway was to be of stone, as was also that of the two rooms over it; one of which was to serve as a muniment-room, and the other as a treasury for such plate and jewels as were not in constant use.[1]

The area of the great quadrangle was to measure 155 feet north and south, from the gateway to the hall, and 230 feet east and west, so that it would have been more than three times the size of the cloisters which now occupy part of the site intended for it. The buildings surrounding it were to have one story above the ground, and a series of small projecting towers on both sides. Many of the towers were to serve as staircases to the upper rooms, which would only have been accessible in this manner, as there were not to be any corridors. The library was to be situated on the east side of the quadrangle looking over the gardens towards the river. The hall and pantry were to occupy their present positions on the south side; but over the staircase leading to them there was to be a turret, probably for a bell. One of the bay-windows of the hall was to look into the quadrangle; the other, as at present, into the kitchen yard. The Provost's lodging was to extend for a length of seventy feet on both floors, from behind the upper end of the hall to a corner tower situated close to the north-east angle of the new Church. Exactly opposite to this, but only on the ground floor, was to be a school-room of similar length adjoining the gateway. The west side was not intended to have any strongly-defined architectural feature. Finally, in the centre of the

[1] *Statute* xxxv.

quadrangle was to stand a conduit, "goodly devised to the ease and profit of the seid College."

The Founder did not at this time contemplate the erection of any one long dormitory. The Scholars, Choristers, and Commensals, were to be distributed among the rooms on the ground floor; but a proviso was made that in each room there should be at least three senior scholars, endued with some sort of monitorial authority. All the boys who had not completed their fourteenth year, were to sleep two in a bed. Each of the Fellows and the Head-Master were to occupy separate rooms on the upper floor. To the Chaplains, Usher, and Clerks was assigned one room for every two persons. All the occupants of the upper floor were specially charged to be careful not to inconvenience those below them by spilling wine or beer or water.[1]

The site of the present School-Yard and of the Upper School was to be occupied by an oblong cloister, communicating with the west side of the great quadrangle. This was to be a real cloister, unlike those subsequently built at Magdalen College, and begun at Christ Church, merely to serve as covered passages. Henry VI. rather took his idea from New College; but he intended that for the roof of the Eton cloister stone should be used instead of wood. The north walk would nearly have followed the line of the present Lower School, and Lower Chamber. The western walk would have given access to the north aisle of the Church. In the centre of this side, and, consequently, close to the high road, a great tower, 140 feet high, was to rise far above the battlements of all the adjoining buildings. In the early monasteries the work of education had been carried on in cloisters; but this was not to be the

[1] *Statute* xxxvi.

case at Eton, inasmuch as Henry VI. had made provision for a regular schoolroom. The cloister was, however, occasionally to be the scene of formal disputations in grammar between the scholars, to which strangers might be admitted as audience.[1] The cloister was also to be the burying-place of the Provosts and of all other members of the College down to the Scholars. The Commensals and the thirteen Servitors might be buried either in the cloister or under the green sward which it inclosed.[2] Between the south walk of the cloister and the Church there was to be a space of thirty-eight feet planted with "certaine trees and flowers behovable and convenient for the service of the same Church."

The existing churchyard, being consecrated ground, could not be converted to secular uses; but on the completion of the buildings, its position with regard to the Church was to be different. The old Church stood in the midst (or on the south side) of it; whereas the new Church was to form its northern boundary. In this churchyard the parishioners of Eton were to be buried, and their baptisms and marriages were to be performed in the porch of the new Church, projecting from the westernmost bay but one, of the south aisle.

The Church itself was to be several feet longer than the present building, and very different from it in form and general appearance. In the first place, it was to have a nave and aisles, as well as a choir; but, on the other hand, the choir was only to be about two-thirds of its present length, and about three-quarters of its present width. Eight feet at the extreme eastern end were to be screened off as a separate chapel, and the great east window was to consist of only seven lights.

[1] *Statute* xiv. [2] *Ibid.* xxxvii.

The choir was to be lighted by seven windows on each side, but their comparative narrowness forbade more than four lights in each. The main walls were to be eighty feet in elevation, and their long horizontal lines were to be broken by a series of pinnacles, rising twenty feet above each of the buttresses. There was to be a double vestry on the north side of the choir, looking over the cloister, and connected with the western side of the quadrangle by a covered passage for the use of the clergy and singers. The rood-loft under the choir-arch, and the thirty-two stalls in the choir, were to be copied from those in St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster. The choir was, of course, intended for the members of the College, and the nave for the almsmen and the ordinary parishioners.

Any one who is at all familiar with the present aspect of Eton will at once see how entirely this scheme of King Henry's differs from the actual plan of the collegiate buildings. The cellar, and part of the hall over it, are indeed the only portions which were ever executed according to the original design. The very sites of all the other buildings have been changed, though an exception may possibly be made in favour of the foundation-stone of the Church, which was not to be "removed, touched nor stered" on any account. It doubtless still lies half-way across the choir, opposite to the elaborate Jacobean monument of Provost Murray. The utter discrepancy between the proportions enjoined by the original design, and those of the present Church, has been a source of perplexity to several antiquaries, some of whom have rashly conjectured that the existing building represents the nave of the proposed Church. The real fact is that Henry VI. soon altered the plans, though he did not, so far as we know, take any steps

towards cancelling his formal "Will." The draft on paper, which, as we have seen, was approved by him on the 7th of February, $144\frac{7}{8}$, was still in existence, and was again brought into requisition. In it the King made several alterations, apparently with his own hand; and he signed it on several pages in the presence of Bishop Waynflete and the Marquis of Suffolk—[1]

The effect of the alterations would have been an enlargement of the Church in almost every direction, and especially of the eastern chapel. They were avowedly made in a spirit of honourable emulation of William of Wykeham, so that the choir of Eton should be longer than "the quire of the newe College at Oxenforde by eighteen, broader by five feet, and the walls higher by twenty feet, the pinnacles by ten feet."

But, as time went on, the enthusiasm of the King increased, and he resolved to make the Collegiate Church of Eton the grandest memorial of his munificence and zeal for religion. His original scheme contemplated the erection of a stately pile; but in altering it for the second time, he aimed at producing a Church which should rank among the finest specimens of ecclesiastical architecture in his kingdom. William of Wykeham was still his pattern and rival, partly indeed as the founder of New College, but more as the architect of the Cathedral Church of Winchester. Roger Keys,

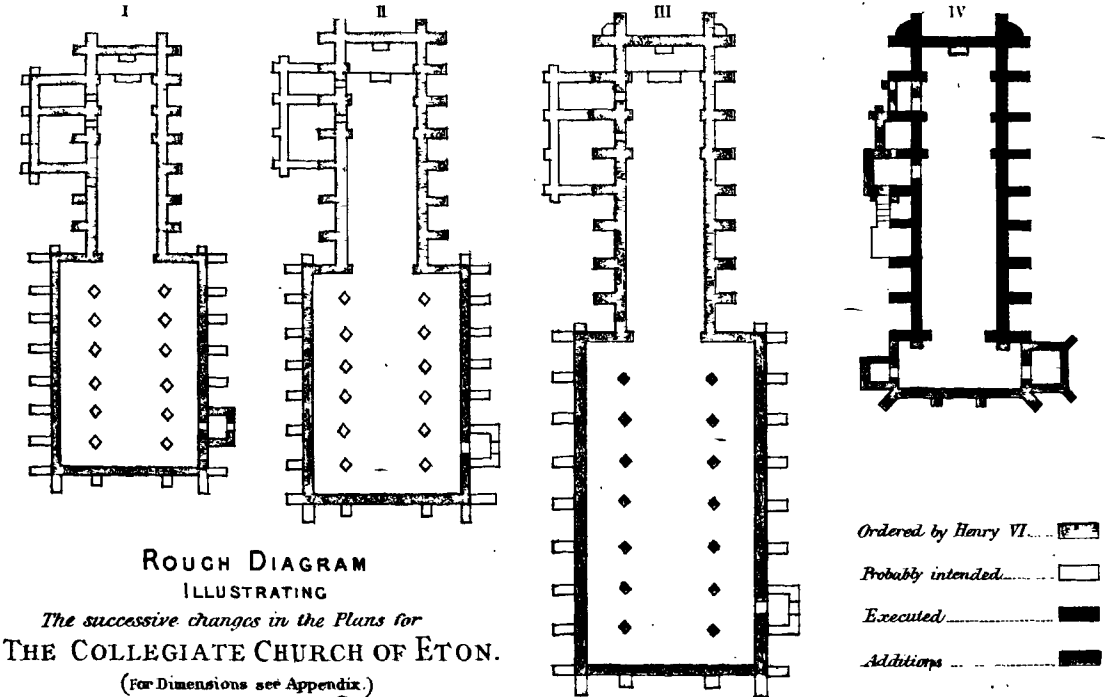
[1] This proves that the alterations must have been made between the 12th of March and the 2nd of June, 1448, as De la Pole was created *Duke* of Suffolk at the latter date.

the master of the works, was accordingly sent with three servants on a nine days' expedition to Salisbury and Winchester, in order to examine and take measurements of those celebrated Churches. Soon after his return he submitted to the King a new design for the building.[1]

Henry VI. must have been guided by the report of Roger Keys in giving his final instructions for the plan and elevation of the proposed Church. They are contained in a paper at Eton, not signed, indeed, but expressly styled "the kynges owne voyse."[2] This interesting MS. is the only real clue to the shape which the Church has actually assumed, though it sketches out a much larger building. The length and breadth of the present choir correspond closely with those ordered in it; as do also the buttresses and the eight windows of five lights apiece on either side. The three short panels in the east wall under the "grete gable wyndowe of ix. days" exactly make up the length prescribed for the altar of the Lady Chapel, which must therefore have occupied the site of the present Holy Table. The pedestals on either side of it are not mentioned in the Founder's directions, but he

[1] *Key's Accounts* from 25th of March 1448 to 25th of March 1449. "Solutum xxvj^to^ die Januarii, pro expensis Magistri Rogeri Keys magistri operum per dominum Regem destinati ad Sarum et Wynton pro certis ibi mensurandis, viz. choros et naves ecclesiarum ibidem in eundo ibidem morando et redeundo usque ad Eton per ix. dies cum iiij^or^ equis et iij^bus^ servientibus omnibus . . . xix^s^ ix^d^ ob. Item solutum xij^o^ die Martii pro expensis magistri operum morantis London cum iij^bus^ famulis et iiij^or^ equis per iij septimanas pro necessariis operum providendis, viz. in providendo pro lapidibus de Hudleston; et ad ostendendum domino Regi portraturam factam super conclusionem ædificii; necnon ad concludendum cum Johanne Langton pro quadam quarrera sua apud Hudleston; et ad communicandum cum consilio feoffamenti ducatus Lancastriæ pro meliore feoffamento habendo xxvj^s^ viij^d^."

[2] See Appendix.



ROUGH DIAGRAM

ILLUSTRATING

The successive changes in the Plans for

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ETON.

(For Dimensions see Appendix.)

Vincent Brooks Day & Son Lith

did order two similar pedestals for supporting figures of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Nicholas at the two ends of the high altar, which was to be placed some twelve feet from the east wall. This altar was to measure no less than eighteen feet in length, and was to be surmounted by an elaborate reredos containing figures of our Lord and His Apostles. The upper stalls were to be close against the walls in the western part of the choir; but they would not have been so lofty as the present stalls, and the Provost would have sat six feet further eastward than he does now. Immediately behind his stall was to be a staircase leading up to the rood-loft, which was also to serve as an organ gallery. Thus there is good authority for the present position of the organ, though none for the form of the hideous structure which supports it.

As in both the former designs, so in this latest one, the King prescribed a nave, with an aisle on either side, but he enlarged the dimensions considerably, and gave further particulars. Thus we find that there was to be a window at the eastern end of each aisle, with an altar under it, and two other altars in a line with these, under the rood-loft. It is remarkable that, though buttresses were ordered for the choir, there is no distinct mention of any for the nave, or rather for the aisles. The inference to be drawn from this might be, that the King did not contemplate vaulting the nave in stone: but, on the other hand, the omission may have been due to the comparative remoteness of time at which this part of the building could be put in hand. We are unwilling to believe that Henry VI. would have been satisfied with any roof in his Collegiate Church, that was not of the first order of excellence.

To many readers mere figures will not convey any definite idea of size; so we shall best explain the dimensions of the proposed nave by comparing it with two or three existing structures. Dismissing from our consideration such churches as Chichester, Kendal, and Coventry, whose great breadth is divided into four or five aisles, we may at once state that there are only two churches in England, of the same plan, which surpass King Henry's last design in width. One—the Metropolitan Church of York—was already in existence; the other is the masterpiece of Sir Christopher Wren. The Gothic Cathedral surpasses the design for Eton in the width both of its nave and of its aisles. St. Paul's barely equals it in this respect, and is only actually wider in consequence of the greater thickness of piers which is always found in Renaissance architecture. There is, indeed, one nave whose length and breadth correspond almost exactly with the measurements given by King Henry's "owne voyse," and it happens to be that of the Mother Church of Lincoln, but there the aisles are several feet narrower than those at Eton would have been. Of course the style of the two churches is quite different, and the Collegiate Church would not have had a triforium. Moreover, the nave of Lincoln is divided into seven bays instead of eight, and in the aisles there are two small windows to each bay, instead of one large window.

The building which most legitimately suggests some analogy with the proposed Church of Eton, is that which was afterwards completed at Cambridge. King's College Chapel so entirely overpowers the existing choir of Eton that a comparison between them might seem absurd; but if both

structures had been carried out according to their common founder's last design, the case would have been reversed. The nave at Eton was to have been about thirty feet longer than that at King's, though not exceeding it in breadth. Its piers and arches would have broken up the long lines of wall more effectually than the vaulting-shafts do at King's, and the aisles would have been an important part of the design, instead of being merely a series of inclosures between the buttresses. They would have been continuous, besides being longer and wider. Such a plan would have involved much greater difficulties in construction, as the central weight of the roof would have been double the distance from the supports. The effect would have been lighter, but at the same time even more impressive. Without transepts, presbytery, or distant chapels, to excite the imagination, the Collegiate Church of Eton would have been smaller than most of our cathedrals; the eye would have taken in the whole idea at a glance; but the unity of the style and the simplicity of the plan, would have produced an effect of grandeur hardly to be equalled.

The money necessary for building the Church was, as we have seen, to come from the Duchy of Lancaster; but in addition to this fund several other sums were given or promised for the year 1448. The King gave 380*l.* from his own coffers, Bishop Ayscough gave 33*l.*, and Bishop Waynflete more than double that sum; but De la Pole, Marquis of Suffolk, contributed no less than 666*l.*[1]

The choir of the new Church was designed on a scale so magnificent, that its erection alone must neces-

[1] MS. of February 7, 144$\frac{7}{8}$, mentioned on p. 36.

sarily have been a work of years; so a small temporary chapel was built to protect the high altar at which Bishop Bekynton had celebrated mass.[1] In the meanwhile the old Church had been enlarged and adapted as far as was possible to the requirements of the collegiate body. The chancel was almost rebuilt, and a reliquary-chamber was added to it, for the reception of the increased number of jewels and ornaments.[2] Carpenters were engaged to fit up new stalls,[3] and glass-workers to beautify the windows. Any expenditure on this last score could easily be justified, as the glass would some day prove useful for the new Church. The subjects represented in some of the windows were figures of prophets and of saints, and in others the Arms of the King. A simpler kind of glazing was employed in the transept (or aisle), styled "flourished glass," apparently consisting of quarries painted with heraldic roses and lilies.[4] A seat of honour called the King's "closet," or "pue," and hung with

[1] *Burton's Accounts*, 1446—1447, "Pro erectione . . . cujusdam capellæ erectæ infra novam ecclesiam supra summum altare."

[2] *Ibid.* "Pro erectione cujusdam domus erectæ in orientali parte cancellæ veteris ecclesiæ ibidem ordinatæ pro jocalibus et ornamentis dictæ ecclesiæ intus ponendis, et pro vestibulo ejusdem cancellæ."

[3] In Christmas Term 1449. *Sloane MS.* 4840.

[4] *Vady's Accounts*, 1445—1446. "Johanni Prudde capitali vitriatori domini Regis pro 638 pedibus vitri vocati *powdred glasse* cum xij imaginibus prophetarum ab eo emptis pro xiij fenestris dictæ cancellæ, et ij fenestris de lez (?) pro closetto Regis et Reginæ ibidem per pedem viij$^{d.}$ ob. xxij$^{li.}$ xj$^{s.}$ xj$^{d.}$ ob.

"Et eidem pro lx pedibus vitri cum diversis picturis ab eo emptis pro elargatione fenestræ occidentalis dictæ cancellæ per pedem xvj$^{d.}$ iiij.$^{li.}$

"Et eidem pro 1 imagine Sancti Hugonis, 1 imagine vitri Sanctæ Annæ, iiij^{or} scutis de armis Sancti Edwardi ac Regis et Reginæ positis in diversis fenestris dictæ ecclesiæ, ad pro diversis pedibus vitri coloráti ab eo emptis pro reparatione diversarum fenestrarum ibidem sic cum ipso concordatum xj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ xxvij$^{l.}$ iij$^{s.}$ vij$^{d.}$"

See also *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 168.

THE HALL,
from the Brewhouse Yard.

tapestry, was reserved for Henry VI. and his queen,[1] who doubtless often attended the services at Eton, when they came to watch the progress of the works.

It may have been at one of these visits that the King ordered a change in the plan of the collegiate buildings, even greater than that which he had made in the proportions of the new Church. The date at which the alterations were commenced is uncertain, and we have not been able to discover the Founder's "owne voyse" as to their scope. A plan or view made in 1457[2] must certainly have shown the present cloister, &c. rather than the buildings contemplated in the King's "Will." The hall was available as early as 1448, though the patch of brickwork over the bay-window seems to indicate that it was never completed according to the original design. About that date nearly 200 feet of historical glass were provided for the windows,[3] and a high table was purchased.[4] Large stone fireplaces were constructed on three sides of the hall, and were used every evening, between the beginning of November and Eastertide.[5] The festal bonfires must have been made on the floor under the open lantern.[6] The Vice-Provost's room and the

[1] See last note. The *Eton Audit Roll*, 1448—1449, also mentions "*arras* pro *le Closet* domini Regis," under the Church expenses.

[2] *Medehill's Accounts*, 1456—1457. "Pro 1 pelle vituli London empta de quodam vocato Colchopp pro quadam portrata desuper fienda de situ et ædificatione Collegii."

[3] *Sloane MS.* 4840.

[4] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1448—1449. "Et in una longa tabula mensale empta pro alta tabula in nova aula x^{s} vj^{d} Et pro carpis emptis ad duas vices pro aula prædicta sternenda xxiij^{s} vij$^{d.}$"

[5] *Statute* xvii., and *Eton Audit Rolls*, passim.

[6] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1448—1449, "3 *Bonefyres* in festis, vigilia Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, vigilia Petri et Pauli, et in vigilia Translationis Sancti Thomæ Martyris;" and in subsequent *Rolls*.

library were completed even before the hall,[1] but it would be difficult to identify their respective sites.

The great sewer must probably be referred to the time of Henry VI., and deserves notice as having for four centuries exhibited one of the most perfect systems of drainage in England. Its principle consisted of a periodical discharge of water which rushed through an enormous drain all round the College with such force that it made its way from under Baldwyn's Bridge into the Thames in the course of a few minutes.[2]

The early building accounts at Eton make frequent mention of the "almeshouse," but it would appear that it was little more than a granary, temporarily fitted up for the use of the poor men. Nor was the infirmary ever erected. Any scholar or chorister who fell ill was entrusted to the care of some worthy matron in the town, and the invalid's commons were allowed in money.[3] One of the houses in Eton purchased for the College by the King from the Jourdelay family, and still called Jourdelay's Place, proved very convenient, while the new buildings were incomplete, for the accommodation of strangers and horses.[4]

Another grant of property about this period made

[1] *Vady's Accounts*, 1445—1446. "Et in denariis solutis Johanni Prudde vitriatori pro xx^{ti} pedibus vitri *floryshed* ab eo emptis pro fenestris librariæ et cameræ Vice-Præpositi per pedem apud dictum Collegium viij$^{d.}$"

[2] It is mentioned in the *Audit Roll* of 1492 or 1493. "Uni laboranti per duos dies circa ripas reparando et obturando foramina juxta aquam ut purgaretur cloaca per cursum aquæ vj$^{d.}$"

[3] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1448—1449. "Et in denariis solutis Aliciæ Water pro custodia Johannis Dorset unius scholaris Collegii infirmi et existentis in villa per v septimanas, et Wilhelmi Allerton alterius scholaris infirmi et existentis in villa per unam septimanam, et Johannis Rede unius choristæ existentis in villa per ij septimanas, una cum prandio eorundem omnibus computatis in denariis viij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$"

[4] *Ibid.* 1448—1449, and undated *Roll*, probably 1454—1455.

permanent provision for the wants of the Provost or any Fellow who had occasion to go up to London on business. During the early years of the College all difficult questions on matters of finance, architecture, or domestic administration, were referred to the decision of the Founder, and the Provost necessarily had to make frequent journeys to the capital. The College of course paid his expenses, and for some time hired a house for him from the Abbot of Chertsey.[1] The King, however, soon gave him the means of maintaining a position more suitable to his dignity, by granting to Eton the leper Hospital of St. James, in the fields of Westminster.[2] The residence till then occupied by the Master (whose office was to be suppressed), though let for a short time to the Earl of Suffolk,[3] was soon fitted up and furnished for the use of the Provost. Westbury was often obliged to follow the King to places far more distant than London, especially when Parliament was sitting. Thus we find him going to St. Edmundsbury and Coventry, as well as to Westminster, perhaps with the object of canvassing the votes of the members.[4] At any rate, the College had to pay for schedules containing lists of the various knights and burgesses who occupied seats in the House of Commons.[5]

The College was always exempted from subsidies, Acts of Resumption, &c., and the Founder was careful

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1444—1445, 1446—1447, 1447—1448, 1449—1450. The yearly rent was 40*s.*

[2] 30th of October, 28 Henry VI. (1449).

[3] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1456—1457. This title was applied to John de la Pole by the Bursars, though it had been forfeited on the execution of his father. He paid 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* as rent.

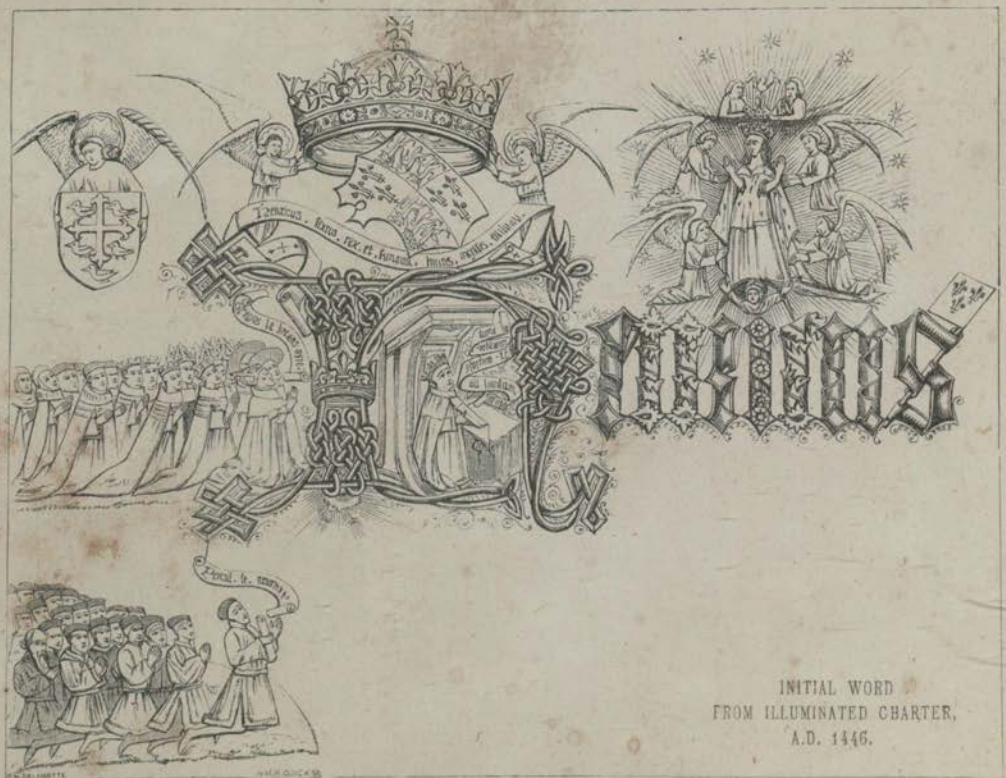
[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* undated, probably, 1454—1455. "Et Wilhelmo Okeden pro scriptura sedulæ nominum militum burgensium Parliamenti iiij$^{s.}$ ij$^{d.}$"

to obtain parliamentary ratification of the various grants which he had made from time to time by letters patent. One of the most extensive confirmations of property and privileges was made in $144\frac{5}{6}$, and ought strictly to have been mentioned in the last chapter. The College caused it to be transcribed with great care, and paid *1l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to a certain William Abell for ornamenting it with an illumination,[1] which may be classed amongst the most interesting and beautiful specimens of English art in the fifteenth century. The King is represented in a kneeling attitude, within the initial letter of his own name, holding his charter in front of an altar; while behind him appear representatives of the three estates of the realm. The Commons are saying, "*Prient les Communes*," to which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal add, "*Et nous le prions ausi.*" Foremost among the Peers kneels Archbishop Stafford, and immediately behind him Cardinals Beaufort and Kemp.

The sister Colleges at Eton and at Cambridge had been established several years before their royal Founder granted to them the Arms which they still respectively bear. The letters by which he did so, attested by the Great Seal of England, are preserved among the muniments at both places. In the case of Eton, Henry VI. assigned as Arms "*on a field sable three lily-flowers argent*, intending that our newly-founded College, lasting for ages to come, whose perpetuity we wish to be signified by the stability of the sable colour, shall bring forth the brightest flowers redolent of every kind of knowledge. . . . To which also that we may impart something of royal nobility, which may declare the work truly royal and illustrious, we have resolved that

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1447—1448. "Et solutum est Wilhelmo Abell illuminanti acta Parliamenti xxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$"



INITIAL WORD
FROM ILLUMINATED CHARTER,
A.D. 1446.

portions of the Arms, which by royal right belong to us in the kingdoms of France and England, be placed *on the chief* of the shield *per pale azure with a flower of the French, and gules with a leopard passant or.*"

The grant to King's followed this grant word for word, except that *three roses argent* were substituted for the same number of lily-flowers; and the symbolism was the same in both.[1] The most curious fact, however, connected with these Arms is, that both Colleges had been using somewhat similar bearings for several years previous to the date of these grants (January 1, $144\frac{7}{8}$). This was ascertained a few years ago with respect to King's, from a unique impression of the original seal among the muniments; but the *first* Eton seal has hitherto escaped attention. From an examination of this seal[2] it appears that the Arms used during Waynflete's tenure of the Provostship are identical with those subsequently granted by Henry VI.; but the original shield of King's College shows on the field *a crozier issuing out of a mitre between two lily-flowers.*

Thus the College at Cambridge bore the emblems of its joint Patrons—the lilies of the Blessed Virgin and

[1] Both these grants are printed in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 47 and 362.

[2] See p. 72, and the woodcut on p. 34.

the episcopal ornaments of St. Nicholas; while the College at Eton, which was dedicated to the former alone, only bore her lilies.[1]

The early shield of King's must have been more pleasing to churchmen than to heralds, who were then still favourable to simple bearings. Its want of symmetry is obvious, and was probably the reason of its being abolished, and the three roses substituted. But with the mitre and crozier vanished also the whole symbolism of the Patron Saints, and a new meaning had to be discovered for the Eton lily-flowers as well as for the Cambridge roses. Both were therefore declared to be emblematical of bright flowers of learning.

This fact of the Eton Arms having been in use before the formal grant in 1449, which was more than two years after Waynflete's resignation of the Provostship, will explain his adoption of the lilies on a chief of augmentation to his paternal shield.[2] He gave his own Arms to his great foundation at Oxford, and the Eton lilies may consequently still be seen at Magdalen. Arms were also granted as signs of "nobility" to the masters of the works (or architects) of the sister Colleges. The surname of Roger Keys of Eton was

[1] At the risk of appearing pedantic, we must remark that the shape of the charges in the Eton shield has sadly degenerated from that represented in the Grant of Arms, and the original seal. In both of these they are lily-flowers (*liliorum flores*); while now they are generally drawn with wiry stalks, and with leaves on either side. So extensively indeed has this corrupt form prevailed, that Sir Bernard Burke, and even Mr. Boutell, have described the lilies as "*slipped and leaved.*" Both these compilers have fallen into the further error of describing the ground as *azure* instead of *sable.* This is the more extraordinary in Mr. Boutell's case, inasmuch as he makes distinct mention of the original grant, "one of the most beautiful specimens of blazonry in existence."

[2] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*, p. 30.

provocative of "canting" heraldry, and *three keys* were accordingly assigned to him and his brother.[1] Nicholas Close of Cambridge came in for a combination of the lilies of Eton and the roses of King's.[2]

The College had occasion to seek further Bulls from the successors of Eugenius IV. in the Papal See. Nicholas V. granted a confirmation of various privileges, &c.;[3] but Pius II. was not so gracious. He did, indeed, confirm the Indulgences accorded to pilgrims who visited Eton at the Feast of the Assumption; but he hampered this concession with restrictions which rendered it almost valueless. Disregarding the perpetual force assigned to the latest Bull of Eugenius IV. he reverted to the earlier form, and provided that three-fourths of the offerings of the penitents should be devoted to the defence of Christendom.[4] Under these circumstances the number of pilgrims declined rapidly, and the Feast of the Assumption became merely the occasion of a solemn function in the Church, and of a grand dinner in the hall, for which an additional sum of 4*l.* or 5*l.* was annually allowed, down to the time of Edward VI.[5]

One of the earliest Fellows of Eton—William Weye—was not satisfied with the ordinary routine of college life, and undertook at least three journeys for the benefit of his soul. His description of the countries which he visited forms a most interesting volume, highly characteristic of the author and the age in which

[1] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, p. 49.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 364.

[3] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1448—1449. "Et in denariis liberatis et solutis per Nicholaum Wyllughby cuidam nuncio misso Romæ pro magna carta confirmationis possessionum et privilegiorum Collegii per Nicholaum ex gratia divina Papam facta et concessa xl^li^."

[4] *Bull* at Eton, dated November 30, 1459.

[5] *Eton Audit Rolls* and *Books* passim.

he lived.[1] The first pilgrimage of which he has left any account was directed to the popular shrine of Santiago of Compostella, and was duly performed in 1456. His next journey was likely to be more adventurous, and his absence from Eton so long that it might have entailed the loss of his Fellowship. Henry VI., however, took precautions against a strict enforcement of the Statutes, and wrote a letter mentioning Weye's desire "to passe overe the see on peregrinage as to Rome, to Jerusalem, and to other holy places, and so humbly hath he soughte us to graunt unto hym our especial licence so to doo; We, having tendre consideration unto his blessed purpos and entent, have licencied hym to execute his said peregrinage, and wol that at suche tyme as he schal retourne unto our College that he be accepted there as a felawe of the same, in like wyse and fourme as he now stondeth therin, and that the yerely pension, with other deutes growyng unto hym during his seid peregrinage, within our said College, be observed oonly, and kept to his propre use unto his said retournyng."[2]

Weye started in 1458, and it is curious to follow the line of his itinerary to Rome. His course will be sufficiently indicated if we give the names of Calais, Ghent, Mechlin, Aachen, Coblentz, Worms, Bruchsal, Ulm, Hesterwang, Meran, Trent, Verona, Mirandola, Bologna, Florence, Siena, and Viterbo. From Rome he turned northwards, but by a different road, through Terni, Spoleto, Assisi, Perugia and Ravenna, whence he went by sea to Venice. From that port he sailed

[1] *The Itineraries of William Weye* have been printed from the original MS. with an excellent introduction by the Rev. George Williams, B.D. The only matter of regret is, that the exclusive character of the Roxburghe Club, by whom the volume was published, renders it inaccessible to many readers.

[2] *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 46.

by Corfu, Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus to Jaffa, which he seriously believed to be so called after its founder, Japhet. He only stayed thirteen days in Palestine, but he managed to see Bethlehem, Jericho, and most of the Holy Places. There were no less than twenty-seven English pilgrims at Jerusalem, and Weye seems to have preached to them in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. That wonderful building was then, as now, the scene of perpetual strife between the members of conflicting sects, of whom Weye enumerates no less than twelve. He retraced his steps pretty closely, only omitting his *détour* to Rome; and he got back to Eton in thirty-nine weeks from the time of his departure.

Weye must have been well pleased with this pilgrimage, for he undertook another in 1462, at the mature age of seventy. On this journey he was obliged to make two departures from the direct road to Venice, first by going from Maastricht to Trier and Metz, in order to keep out of the way of a war which was raging on the Rhine between two bishops; and again by going from Basel to Meran by Constance, Landeck, and Nauders, so as not to set foot on the Austrian dominions, which then lay under a Papal Interdict. From Trent he took the beautiful, but now neglected, road to Venice through Pergine and Bassano. Weye was fortunate enough to reach Venice in time for the festival of St. Mark, and he was struck with wonder at the gorgeous ceremonial of that day. His account of it is a more valuable contribution to history, though hardly more curious, than his minute enumeration of the localities and relics which he saw in the Holy Land. Not the least interesting part of Weye's book consists of practical advice to future travellers, including a phrase-book of Greek and

English, and a table of foreign exchanges. He also made a map of the Holy Land, though not from personal observation. His book abounds in examples of *memoria technica* which would now be repudiated by most Eton boys.

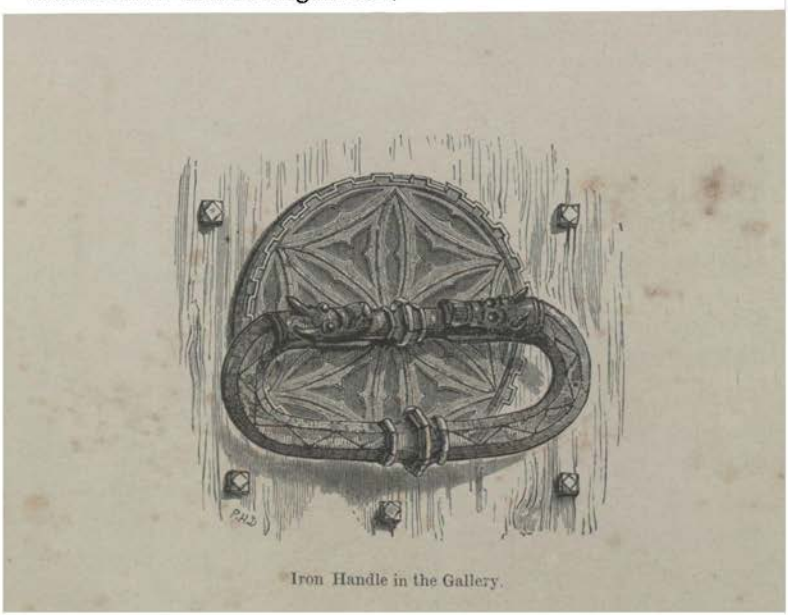
The exact date at which Weye resigned his Fellowship is not certain, though he may have done so in consequence of the troubles under Edward IV. All we know is, that he adopted the rule of St. Austin and died a monk of Edyngton in 1476. He gave several relics to that house, and doubtless also to Eton. Some plate in old inventories is mentioned as having been presented by him. It has all disappeared, as have also the MSS. which he gave to the library, with a single exception.

John Blakman, the only other Fellow of Eton at this period who appears as an author, also became a monk, but at the Charter-House. In his account of Henry VI. he makes mention of the deep interest which that prince took in everything that concerned his foundation. In selecting Fellows we are told that he looked more to their learning than to their musical acquirements. The Founder, who had provided so liberally for the fabric of the College, was also as anxious to secure the best "living stones." Whenever he met any of the scholars in Windsor Castle, on a visit to members of his retinue, he used to exhort them to follow the path of virtue. He usually added a small present of money, saying, "Be good boys, meek and docile, and servants of the Lord." On the other hand, he did not encourage their presence at Court, dreading the effect on their morals of the vicious example of his courtiers.[1]

[1] Hearne's *Otterbourne*, &c., vol. i. p. 296.

We will close this account of Eton College during the reign of its Founder by mentioning the joy with which its members received "two messengers coming from our Lady the Queen to inform the College of the birth of a prince."[1] Yet this very event, which seemed so auspicious at the moment, is said to have been the immediate cause of the civil war which ensued. The Duke of York, finding himself debarred even from the reversion of the Crown, aspired to obtaining it without waiting for the death of Henry VI. We can hardly doubt that most Etonians were loyal to the cause of the Founder.

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1452—1453. "Et in regardo dato ij nunciis venientibus a domina Regina ad certificandum Collegium de nativitate principis xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$"



Iron Handle in the Gallery.

1460—1482.

Success of the Yorkist Party—Attempted Suppression of Eton College—The Struggle for Existence—Death of Henry VI.—Earl Rivers—The College Seal—Completion of the Church—Definite Re-establishment of the College—Death of Westbury—William Paston—Provost Bost and Jane Shore—Funeral of Edward IV.

THE news of the rout of the Lancastrian forces at Mortimer's Cross, and of the subsequent failure of Queen Margaret's attempt to enter London in February, 146$\frac{0}{1}$, must have caused the utmost consternation at Eton. The members of the College had not, indeed, taken up arms for the Founder, and could hardly be brought to trial for having acknowledged him as their king; but they had every reason to anticipate trouble, individually and collectively. They therefore acted with more wisdom than courage, in at once submitting themselves to the chief of the victorious faction. One or more of them went to meet the young Duke of York on his march towards London, and obtained from him a written promise of protection. This curious document was only discovered at Eton a

few years ago, and may now be seen in one of the glass cases in the library. It bears traces of having been prepared and signed in great haste, being written on paper instead of parchment, and having the seal impressed upon it, instead of attached to it. Though dated from London, on the 27th of February, it was probably signed in the suburbs, as historians state that the Duke of York did not enter his future capital until the following day. The autograph signature is interesting, as being one which could only have been used during the few weeks that elapsed between Edward's succession to the dukedom and title of York, and his assumption of the crown of England.

"Be it knowen that We Edward by ye grace of god of Englande, Fraunce & Irlande vray & just heire duc of york Erl of ye march & Ulvestre have by thees our lrẽs taken & receyved the Provosté and felaship of ye Collage of Eyton into our defense & saveguard Therfor We desir & pray al thoos pẽonns to whom thees our lrẽs shal bee shewed & evry of tham that thay ne noon of tham hurte trouble ne vexe the said Provost or felaship their tenãts or svñts neithre tham in their lyvelooods goods or catalls robbe despoyle ner vexe otherwise than by ryght lawe & good conscience be ev thay wol have our good lordeship. Geven undre our signet at London ye xxvij day of Feverer ye yere of or lord mcccclx."

Any feelings of security inspired by this document must have been rudely disturbed by the proceedings

of the Parliament in November, which pronounced the grants of the three Lancastrian Kings null and void. Many exceptions were made to this sweeping enactment, but Eton was not specifically mentioned among them.[1] The new King so far kept his word, that a year after his accession he exempted the College from all fines, scutages, &c., and re-granted to it many of its estates.[2] He bestowed the remainder on other foundations, apparently without any definite guiding principle.[3] As time went on, Edward's jealousy of Henry VI. increased, and he resolved to discredit everything that could redound to the fame of his dangerous rival. Personal predilections may in some cases have combined with state-craft in influencing his actions. If he was "enclined more to the advauncement of vaine pompe, to feede the sence then to the promotion of verie vertue," he must certainly have felt more interest in the "canons, vicares, singing-men, organists, and choristers" of his own chapel than in the poor scholars and almsmen of Eton.[4] Anyhow, he conceived the idea of entirely suppressing the noble institution which Henry VI. had founded "for the increase of learning," and of annexing it to St. George's, at Windsor. With this object, he represented to the Pope that the buildings at Eton were incomplete, and the College unlikely to be of any use, which was obviously true, inasmuch as he himself had cut off its principal sources of revenue. Pius II. had no special interest in the matter, and readily granted a Bull abolishing the very name of Eton College. He made provision, however, for

[1] *Rolls of Parliament.*

[2] *Ibid.* and *Patent Roll*, 1 Edw. IV. p. 3, m. 24.

[3] Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, under the account of the Alien Priories in vol. vi.

[4] Lambarde's *Dictionarium Angliæ*, pp. 421—422.

the vested rights of the existing members of the disestablished body, by transferring them to Windsor, on an equal footing with persons holding similar positions there. The site of the College, moreover, being consecrated ground, was not to be turned to profane uses.[1] The Dean and Chapter of Windsor naturally offered no opposition to the King's scheme, and paid his proctor at Rome handsomely for his trouble on their behalf.[2] The Bull of Union was issued on the 13th of November, 1463, but it is not clear how soon it took effect, if, indeed, it ever took effect at all. This is the most obscure, as well as the most melancholy, page in the history of Eton; but it is relieved by one memorable proceeding.

On the 15th of July, 1463, Provost Westbury proceeded to St. Martin's-le-Grand in London, and there, in the presence of a notary-public issued two documents, one addressed to his fellow-countrymen, the other to the Pope. In the latter he declared solemnly that he had been lawfully elected, and was in full and undisputed possession of the Provostship; that he was a man of good position, of blameless reputation, and honest life; not suffering under any suspension, excommunication, or interdict, or accused of any notorious offence; but that, having reason to anticipate some sort of molestation, he desired the special protection of the Supreme Pontiff.[3] It is worthy of remark, that throughout this appeal he utterly ignored the recent Bull of Union. In the other document Westbury went over some of the same ground, but he added a formal protest to the effect that he had never consented, and

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 220.

[2] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 57, quoting Windsor MS.

[3] Eton Muniment Room, drawer 46, No. 9.

never would consent, to the suppression of Eton College; and that if he had ever appeared to consent to such a proceeding, his conduct must be ascribed to cowardice—a weakness which sometimes betrays the most constant men.[1]

These protests were probably inspired by Bishop Waynflete, who had himself made one of a similar character, when anticipating danger from the Yorkist party in 1451.[2] Waynflete had been able to assist Westbury in many cases of difficulty concerning the College, though his own personal influence at Court had declined since the deposition of his patron, Henry VI. He had held the office of Lord Chancellor till a few days before the disastrous battle of Northampton, and was consequently regarded with some distrust by Edward IV. Nevertheless, as Bishop of Winchester, he was still an important personage, and we are probably not far wrong in ascribing the eventual preservation of Eton to his unceasing exertions.

The Chapter of Windsor took steps to counteract the effect of Westbury's protest, and sent the Dean and one of the Canons to London for eleven days to conduct negotiations on their behalf. They were so far successful as to obtain a letter from the King, ordering the removal of the jewels, bells, &c., from Eton, and giving instructions as to the future status of the members of the College.[3] A long list of the goods which were sent up to the Castle in 1465 is

[1] Eton Muniment Room, drawer 48, No. 11.

[2] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete.*

[3] "Et solutum domino Willelmo Hermer Canonico pro expensis suis misso per Capitulum cum domino Decano London pro materia unionis in mense Augusti anno Edwardi iiij^ti. v^to. expectando ibidem a xvi^to. die Augusti usque xxvi^m. diem ejusdem mensis inclusive, viz. per xi^m. dies capiendo per diem ij^s. iiij^d. xxv^s. viij^d."

preserved among the muniments at Eton. The amalgamation of the two bodies, however, can never have been complete, as their accounts were always kept separate. The series of Rolls at Windsor of this period is tolerably perfect, but many of the Eton Rolls are missing.

The earliest Roll at Eton, belonging to the reign of Edward IV., exhibits a sad contrast to those of the later years of the good King Henry. The College revenues, which had once amounted to some 1,500*l.* a year, had, by 1468, sunk to 370*l.*, a sum which was utterly inadequate to defray the necessary expenses. The prospect must have been very gloomy. The College could not run into debt when its own future existence was at stake; so a policy of retrenchment had to be adopted. The almsmen were abolished, the number of scholars was considerably reduced, and vacant Fellowships were not filled up. But even these modifications of the original foundation did not prove sufficient. The commons at every table in hall had to be reduced in value as well as in number, so as to bring them down to 3*l.* 10*s.* a week, instead of 7*l.* as before. In 1468 the Provost and Fellows did not receive any stipend whatever. The Master and Usher, being hired, could of course claim as creditors, but even they submitted to a considerable diminution of their salaries, viz., from 16*l.* and 10*l.* to 10*l.* and 4*l.* respectively.[1] At this lower scale the remuneration of these officers remained fixed until the middle of the sixteenth century.

"Et solutum dicto domino Willelmo Hermer Canonico pro adquisitione unius brevis missi a domino Rege Decano et Canonicis pro translatione jocalium, campanarum, et stabilimento presbiterorum, clericorum et puerorum ij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$" Marked "pro Eton," in the margin of a *Roll* in the Muniment Room of the Dean and Chapter at Windsor Castle.

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1467—1468.

The School in 1468 was for the second time under the management of a certain Clement Smyth, who had resigned his first tenure of the Mastership on being elected a Fellow of Eton in 1458. He must have had a decided taste for teaching, as he soon vacated his fellowship in order to accept the post of Master at Winchester.[1] When Eton was in a critical position, he very generously came back to his original duties there, but at the inferior salary; so he well deserved the prebendal stall at Windsor which was shortly afterwards bestowed upon him.[2] Of his successor in the Mastership of Eton—Walter Barber—nothing is recorded, except that he was the "father of Walter the Hermit,"[3] a person evidently better known in his own day than in ours. By the date at which Clement Smyth ultimately left Eton (1469) the state of affairs had improved considerably. The King had, somehow, been induced to abandon his project of annexing the College to St. George's, and the regular elections to King's had been resumed. The Provost and Fellows, too, received the arrears of their stipends, though at a lower rate than that ordered by the Founder. Thenceforth the yearly allowance in money to the Provost was 20*l.* instead of 50*l.*, and to each of the Fellows 5*l.* instead of 10*l.*[4]

Nevertheless the College revenues recovered but slowly. The number of Fellowships, which had sunk from ten to four, was only gradually raised to seven; and the spoliation committed by Edward IV. was, in each of the next two centuries, pronounced to be a

[1] *Registrum Regale*, and Walcott's *William of Wykeham*, p. 356.

[2] Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, vol. iii. p. 388.

[3] Annotated *Register of Scholars* at King's College, Cambridge.

[4] *Eton Audit Rolls* passim.

valid excuse for the permanent suppression of the three remaining places.

How Eton recovered the King's favour is not recorded; but Provost Westbury was frequently in London on business. It may have been from a sense of gratitude for favours received that the poor College made various small presents, generally consisting of fish, to powerful nobles and prelates. Among the recipients, we come across the name of George Nevill, the time-serving Archbishop of York, brother of the famous "King-maker."[1] In July 1467 Edward IV. restored to Eton another portion of its former possessions;[2] but on the very next day he bestowed some of the estates of King's College on his favourite clergy at Windsor.[3] Finally the King directed his agents at Rome to explain that he had been misinformed about the state of affairs at Eton, and to beg for the revocation of the Bull of Union. Cardinal Barbo, who, as we have seen,[4] had been engaged in the negotiations concerning the foundation of the College, was now Pope under the title of Pius II. He proved quite willing to reverse the decree of Pius II.; but, being anxious that there should be no further disputes in the matter, he gave full power to the Archbishop of Canterbury to inquire into the facts of the case, and only to cancel the Bull of Union if the King's

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1469—1470. "Et in exemio dato domino Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, viz. 1 dentrice et truta v^{s} ij$^{d.}$"

[2] *Patent Roll*, 7 Edw. IV., p. 2, m. 12, 13, and *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 152.

[3] Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 1358.—The Dean and Chapter had some trouble in the matter. Their *Roll of Accounts* for the year records a payment "in regardo dato Johanni Catesby servienti ad legem pro consilio suo habendo in materiis de Chesynbery, Querle, Uphaven, et materia Johannis Gardyn vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$"

[4] Page 8.

latest statements turned out more correct than the earlier.[1]

This was a great triumph for Provost Westbury, who caused two copies of the new Bull to be transcribed,[2] and went up to London several times on the matter. He no longer enjoyed the use of St. James's Hospital, but the College used to pay the rent of his lodgings at Queenhithe, near the Tower.[3] During his stay there he was constantly engaged in consultation with "doctors in law, notaries, proctors, and scribes" with respect to the Bulls, and also with respect to a royal Brief for securing the College against molestation.[4]

It was at this period that Henry VI. was restored to the throne, but only for a few months. Edward IV. was King both at the opening and at the close of the Eton financial year, which ended at Michaelmas 1471. The Bursars of that year, therefore, acted wisely in omitting from their accounts any direct allusion to the important political changes that had occurred during their tenure of office. To them Henry VI. and Edward IV. were equally "our Lord the King." Yet it is interest-

[1] The Decree of Cardinal Bourchier, 30th of August, 1476, recites this Commission of Paul II., which is dated 1470. *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 220. The original decree, formerly in the Muniment Room at Eton, drawer 48, No. 1, is now kept in one of the glass cases in the library.

[2] *Eton Audit Roll*, undated (probably 12 Edw. IV.)

[3] *Ibid.* 1469—1470. "Pro redditu domorum Magistri Præpositi London apud Quenehythe pro iij terminis ad xv^s. per terminum xly^s."

[4] *Ibid.* 1470—1471. "Et in regardis datis et expensis adhuc circa doctores in jure, notarios, procuratores et scribas, pro executione unius Bullæ Apostolicæ directæ domino Cardinali Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi iv^li. xix^s. Et in expensis et regardis datis diversis doctoribus et notariis pro expeditione ejusdem Bullæ Apostolicæ concernentis separationem Collegii nostri de Eton a Collegio Sancti Georgii de Windsor mensibus Novembris et Decembris xiv^li. xj^s. vj^d."

ing to observe that the former did not neglect his own foundation during his short restoration to power, for he must certainly have been the king who sent a messenger to the College the day after Christmas 1470.[1] An indirect memorial of the Lancastrian success may also be found in the record of a present of fish and mushrooms given to Edmund Beaufort "Duke of Somerset," and John Courtenay "Earl of Devon,"[2] two nobles whose titles had been forfeited by Edward IV. Dr. Westbury went to London to watch the interests of the College during the short session of Parliament, in which Edward was denounced as a traitor and usurper.[3]

The Provost went to see the Founder once more a few weeks later, but if he saw him it was only as a corpse. The entry in the Eton Audit Roll is interesting, and suffices to confute the theory that the royal prisoner lived on into the month of June, 1471:—

"Et in expensis Magistri Præpositi equitantis London in crastino Ascensionis Domini pro exequiis Regis Henrici vi^ti. vij^s. ix^d."

This quite confirms the statement in Fabyan[4]:—

"Then upon Assencion Even next ensuing, the corps of Henry the Sixt late Kyng, was brought unreverently from the Towre, thorowe the high streates of the Citie, unto Paules Churche, and there left there that night, and upon the morowe conveighed with gleves[5] and other weapons, as he

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1740—1741. "Et in regardo dato nuncio domini Regis per Magistrum Præpositum in die Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ iij^s. iv^d."

[2] *Ibid.* "Et in exemio dato Duci Somerset et Comiti Devoniæ, viz. ij piscibus salsis dimidio fung, xx^ti. allet albis i truta, i cheven, et x dacis, per Magistrum Præpositum v^s."

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 505.

[5] *Glaive*, "a weapon composed of a long cutting blade at the end of a lance." Halliwell's *Dictionary*, p. 402.

before thither was brought, unto Chertessey, and there was buried. Of the death of this prince divers tales wer told. But the most common fame went, that he was sticken with a dagger, by the handes of the Duke of Gloceter."

The anonymous chronicler in Leland[1] is even more precise :—

"The same Night beyng the 21 Day of May and Tuesday[2] at Night betwixt a xi and xii of the Clok, was King Henry, being Prisoner yn the Tourre, put to Deth; the Duke of Glocestre, and dyverse other, beyng there that Night. And in the Morow he was brought to S. Paulis Chirch in London in a Cophyn, and there lay open facid and bledde, and thens caryid to the Blake Frerers in London and ther bled. And thens to Chirtesay Abbay yn a Bote and there was byried in our Lady Chapel."[3]

Any sorrow for the Founder's death, or horror at his supposed murder, which Westbury may have felt, had to be disguised when Edward IV. and his queen visited Eton in the second week of July. Their retinue on this occasion comprised about thirty persons, but they came again the very next week with about a hundred attendants: on a third visit in the month of September they brought one or more foreign ambassadors in their suite.[4] These frequent visits indicate that Edward had begun to take some personal interest in the College, and he seems to have ordered a boat to be kept for his use at Eton.[5] The relations between the

[1] *Collectanea*, vol. ii. p. 507.

[2] Ascension Day fell on the 23rd of May in 1471. Bond's *Handbook for Verifying Dates*, pp. 79, 226.

[3] For the subsequent removal of King Henry's bones see the Appendix to Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*.

[4] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1470—1471.

[5] *Ibid.* undated, probably 12 Edw. IV. "Et pro cimba Regis et iij remis emptis pro domino Rege, ultra xl$^{s.}$ solutos per dictum dominum Regem xix$^{s.}$ iv$^{d.}$ Et pro 1 corda empta ad trahendam dictam cimbam London Etonæ vj$^{d.}$ Et pro deductione dictæ cimbæ London ad Collegium iij$^{s.}$ j$^{d.}$"
c

clergy at the Castle and those at Eton were, by this time, sufficiently amicable to allow of the latter giving an entertainment to the Dean of Windsor.[1] But Westbury did not relax his efforts to make his opponents disgorge their late acquisitions, and he succeeded in obtaining a letter under the Privy Seal, ordering the restitution of the College goods.[2] By virtue of this order the bells were removed from St. George's and re-hung in their original places at Eton.[3] A number of copes and other vestments were also restored or given to the College in 1471.[4]

Eton certainly had powerful friends at Court in the members of the Queen's family, who were popularly accused of exercising an undue influence over Edward IV. Her eldest brother Anthony, Earl Rivers, was a distinguished patron of literature and of learned men, especially of William Caxton the printer. He evinced a warm interest in the fortunes of the College, and procured for it a royal grant of some property in the Vintry in the City of London. In consideration of the services which he had performed, the Provost and Fellows bound themselves and their successors to "cause a masse dayly to be seid within the Churche of the seid College, at the auter of our lady," at a quarter past seven in the morning. It was specially provided that sixty "knolles or strokes" should daily be sounded "with a grete belle in the seid College nye afore the beginnyng of the seide masse, so that wel disposed

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1470—1471. "Et in exemio dato per Magistrum Præpositum Decano de Windsor, viz. 1 truta et 1 dentrice, et vino expenso circa eundem Decanum et servientes ejus vs. ijd."

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1470—1471. "Et in denariis solutis per Magistrum Præpositum pro reparatione campanilis, et cariago et translatione campanarum a Collegio Sancti Georgii ad nostrum Collegium lxxiij$^{s.}$ iij$^{d.}$"

[4] *Ibid.*

people may have knowledge to come to the seide mass." The chaplain who performed the service was instructed to pray for "oure soveraine lorde kyng Edwarde the iiijth, our sovraine lady Quene Elisabeth, the prince their sonne, and the lords and ladyes his bredren and sistren, the said Erle Ryvers and alle his bredren and sistern" and for his father and for his mother, the well-known Jaquinet of Luxemburg, and other relations. In addition to this daily mass the College undertook to keep a solemn anniversary for Lord Rivers and his family, on the 30th of October.[1] This arrangement was made some eight years before the death of Lord Rivers, and the mass and obit were kept up until the reign of Edward VI. Another mass founded about the same time by John Bonor, one of the Fellows, eventually shared the same fate.[2]

An entry, upon the cover of the earliest Register Book at Eton, to the effect that on the 4th of March, 147$\frac{3}{4}$, the College seal was broken, and a new one adopted in the presence of the Provost and Fellows, has already been noticed by Carlisle;[3] but the reason for this proceeding has hitherto escaped observation.[4] A comparison of the *original* seal with that adopted in 1474, and still in use, will show that the change was made on political grounds. The former is in every way the more elaborate and beautiful of the two; but

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. i. ff. 154—156. May 29, 15 Edw. IV.

[2] *Ibid.* and *Eton Audit Books* passim.

[3] *Grammar Schools*, vol. i.

[4] It is only fair to mention that impressions of the original seal are very scarce. We only know of two—one, somewhat blunt, in the British Museum, *Add. Chart*, 7210; the other, clearer, but very imperfect, in the Muniment Room at Dunster Castle. The woodcut on page 34 has been made from a comparison of these two impressions, but cannot aspire to being perfectly accurate.

it contains a figure of Henry VI. as King, and as Founder of the College, which may have given offence to the Yorkists. It was therefore omitted from the second seal, and the distinctive supporters of Edward IV. were placed on each side of the Arms of France and England. The cause of the Red Rose may, indeed, have appeared hopeless, or even unjust; but this deliberate slight on the memory of "the meek usurper" does little credit to men who had been recipients of his bounty. The boldness of Westbury's protest against the suppression of the College has earned for him the name of "the Camillus of Eton,"[1] but a closer examination of his conduct must prevent our accepting him as a hero.

At one time it seemed as though the subserviency of its principal members would hardly save Eton from destruction; for in May, 1474, Edward IV. granted to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor many of the lands which he had himself given (or confirmed) to Eton seven years previously.[2] This grant, however, does not appear to have taken effect.[3] The King may have made it under some temporary fit of resentment, or by error. Indeed, it is impossible to account for the inconsistent manner in which he alternately gave and took away the Eton endowments.[4] One of the properties which changed hands several times during his reign was the Alien Priory of West Shirburn in Hampshire. Before it was finally taken away from Eton, loud complaints were raised against the conduct of the Provost and Fellows, who had ejected the Prior and monks, and had

[1] *Etoniana*, p. 9.

[2] *Patent Roll*, 14 Edw. IV., p. 1, m. 1, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol vi. p. 1359.

[3] Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*.

[4] See the accounts of various Alien Priories in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol vi.

carried off all the jewels, relics, ornaments, charters, &c. Their chief offence, however, was said to consist in allowing "horses and cartes dayly to goo uppon the sepultures of Cristen people in gret nombre buried in the Chirch there, whereof moo than xxx sumtyme were worshipfull Barons, Knyghtes, and Squyers," and in putting a stop to the prayers for the founder, Henry du Port, and his family. An Act of Parliament was accordingly passed in 1475, compelling the College to maintain a priest at West Shirburn for the due performance of the offices for the dead.[1]

The building of the new Collegiate Church of Eton appears to have been resumed in 1470, under the auspices of Bishop Waynflete. The King instructed the Constable of Windsor to allow the Provost to dig chalk and flint in the park;[2] but we do not know of any further assistance being given. Leland expressly states[3] that a considerable portion of the buildings of Eton College, left imperfect by King Henry, was finished at the expense of Waynflete. The Audit Rolls fully corroborate this, and show that the College used to send to the Bishop for money several times every year. Waynflete's generosity towards Eton is the more noble in that there he was only carrying out the schemes of another, whereas Magdalen College at Oxford, and the school at his own birthplace, were his own foundations. All contracts for building materials, at this period seem to have been made in his name. One of them was with a certain mason

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. vi. p. 143.

[2] Warrant in English addressed to the Constable of Windsor under the sign manual. Dated 12th of March, 147½, and preserved in one of the glass cases in the library at Eton.

[3] *Itinerarium*, vol. ix. p. 33.

named Orchyard for the supply of stone from the well-known quarry at Headington, near Oxford; and later on we find the Vice-Principal of Magdalen entering the stone for the two Colleges on the same account.[1]

No building-accounts of the time of Edward IV. have been preserved at Eton; but it appears from the Audit Rolls that one of the fellows named Wyther acted as overseer, or possibly architect. The very walls of the Church bear evidence of the exact stage at which Waynflete resumed the incomplete work. A sudden break in the mouldings round the curved head of the great east window is noticeable from without as well as from within. It proves that the arch was intended to have been made more acute, and that consequently the whole building was to have been loftier. Waynflete, impatient to see the end of the work, satisfied himself with a lower pitch of arch, which, moreover, was more in accordance with the prevalent style of the time. The voussoirs of some of the windows looking into the cemetery are evidently made of the Headington stone, and must be assigned to this date. A wooden roof was also constructed over the choir; but, probably, only as a makeshift; and we may be allowed to express a hope that this subject of reproach may some day be taken away. Stone-groining has come into vogue again in our own day, and the Chapel of Eton College is at least as worthy of a "high embowed roof" as the Abbey Church of Bath.

When Waynflete undertook the completion of the buildings at Eton, he must have been more than seventy years of age, and, as we have noticed, he had other important works on hand. There was therefore no

[1] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete.*

chance of his living long enough to be able to carry out the designs of Henry VI. in their entirety. Nor was there any prospect of a new patron coming forward with liberality equal to his own. Under these circumstances it appeared wise to abandon the Founder's scheme of an enormous nave, and to substitute for it the smallest structure which would conveniently accommodate the parishioners. This, then, is the origin of the westernmost portion of the present building, formerly called the "nave," but now the "ante-chapel." The chapels of New College and Winchester obviously suggested its form; but William of Wykeham in his time had possibly derived the idea from the transept of Merton College, whose nave was never constructed. To an inexperienced eye the exterior of the ante-chapel appears the oldest piece of masonry at Eton, but this error is entirely owing to the nature of the Headington stone, which, under the influence of time, decays much more rapidly than the finer material from Yorkshire, of which the choir is principally composed. When the interior of the building was undergoing restoration, some twenty-seven years ago, traces were found of a lofty arch which had originally been designed to separate the choir from the nave. The present arch, and the window over it, were evidently erected in the reign of Edward IV., and must be ranked among the least favourable examples of Perpendicular architecture. Their ugliness has lately been aggravated by the removal to the west end of the choir of an organ, which was designed to stand in another part of the building, and at a different level. The hideous organ-gallery now occupies the site of a wooden rood-loft, ordered by Bishop Waynflete, whose contract with a carver at Southwark, named Walter Nicholl, is

preserved at Eton.[1] From this document it appears that the Bishop provided the necessary wood, iron, &c., and paid the carriage, so that Nicholl had only to find the labour, for which he was to receive 100 marks. Part of his work consisted in taking down the rood-loft and stalls in the old Church, which, it must be remembered, was at that time standing by the side of the present building. Waynflete stipulated that the west side of the new rood-loft should be copied from that at Winchester College, and the east side and the adjoining seats in the choir from the corresponding woodwork in the Church of St. Thomas of Acon, in London. The agreement was made in August 1475, and Nicholl undertook to complete his work within two years. The various instalments of money paid to him by the Provost on account were endorsed on the document.

The Audit Roll of 1476 shows that the new Church must have been nearly finished, inasmuch as Bishop Waynflete's glazier came to Eton several times to take measurements of the windows.[2]

Although the building of the Church was making such good progress, several other important matters were still in an unsatisfactory condition. There were but four Fellows; the number of Scholars was still far below seventy;[3] and there was no absolute security for the permanence of the College. Under these circumstances the Provost was naturally anxious to obtain the benefit of the last papal Bull; and he sent the counsel of the College into Kent, to plead before the Archbishop of Canterbury.[4] Cardinal Bourchier, who

[1] In one of the glass cases in the library.

[2] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1475—1476. "Et in regardo dato Thomæ vitrario domini Wyntoniensis venienti ad capiendum mensuram fenestrarum ecclesiæ vs.," &c.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

then occupied that see, took a favourable view of the case, and finally pronounced judgment in favour of Eton, on the 30th August, 1476, requiring the Chapter of Windsor to abstain from any sort of molestation, under pain of the greater excommunication.[1] Three months later Provost Westbury executed a receipt and release to Dean Courtenay, for all the goods which had been transferred to the Castle, but had since been restored.[2]

Westbury did not long survive the formal re-establishment of the College to which he had been attached either as Master or as Provost for upwards of thirty-three years. He had successfully guided Eton through the greatest difficulties which beset its course during the first four centuries of its corporate existence; and though he never saw the College restored to its former wealth and celebrity, he had at least the satisfaction of feeling that his exertions had not been fruitless. Westbury's funeral must have been one of the earliest that took place in the new Collegiate Church. His monumental brass has been destroyed, and the epitaph on it only exists in manuscript :—[3]

Nate dei patris anime miserere Wilhelmi
Westburi, cujus ossa sub hoc lapide
Condita sunt, natus erat et nutritus in Alford,
Wintonie juvenis grammaticam didicit,
Oxonie studuit, et in Artibus ille Magister,
Etone pueros grammaticam docuit.
Inde theologus est, hic functus prepositura
Tolle decem menses lustra per integra sex.

[1] Bourchier's decision, adorned with an illumination of the Assumption of the Virgin, is in one of the glass cases in the library at Eton. It was formerly in the Muniment Room, drawer 48, No. 1. Huggett copied it. *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 220.

[2] 30th of November, 16 Edw. IV. *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 106.

[3] *Rawl MS.* B. 267, in the Bodleian Library.

Precedente die festum solenne beati
Gregorii [pape[1]*] mortuus ille fuit.*
M C quater fit L X bis septem superaddes[2]
Annus erat Domini. Salvet eum Dominus.
Amen.

We give these lines at full length as a fair specimen of the style of Latin versification which then prevailed at one of the principal seats of learning in England. The epitaph to the memory of Richard Hopton, one of the Fellows, who died a few years later, is scarcely any better.[3] With such examples constantly before them, it would have been surprising if the scholars had attained to even a moderate degree of proficiency. We must not therefore be too severe on the couplet which Master William Paston sent home as a proof of his skill. The first of his letters from Eton which has been preserved,[4] is as follows :—

"To his worshipful brother John Paston, be this delivered in haste.

"Right reverend and worshipful brother, after all duties of recommendation, I recommend me to you, desiring to hear of your prosperity and welfare, which I pray God long to continue to his pleasure and to your heart's desire; letting you weet that I received a letter from you, in the which letter was 8*d.*, with the which I should buy a pair of slippers.

"Furthermore, certifying you as for the 13*s.* 4*d.* which ye sent by a gentleman's man for my board, called Thomas Newton, was delivered to mine hostess, and so to my

[1] Conjectural.

[2] This means 1477 — thus, $1000+100\times4+50+10\times2+7$. If we were to take the *bis* with the *septem*, the date would be 1474!

[3] This is also given in *Rawl MS.* B. 267.

[4] Fenn's *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 297. We have given the modernized version, partly because a schoolboy's spelling is of little value, partly because the original version will soon be the most accessible in Mr. Gairdner's careful edition.

creanser[1] Mr. Thomas Stevenson;[2] and he heartily commended him to you; also ye sent me word in the letter of 12 lb. of figgs and 8 lb. of raisins; and I have them not delivered, but I doubt not I shall have, for Alweder told me of them, and he said that they came after in another barge.

"And as for the young gentlewoman, I will certify you how I first fell in acquaintance with her; her father is dead, there be two sisters of them, the elder is just wedded; at which wedding I was with mine hostess and also desired by the gentleman himself, called William Swan, whose dwelling is in Eton. So it fortuned that mine hostess reported on me otherwise than I was worthy; so that her mother commanded her to make me good cheer, and so in good faith she did. She is not abiding where she is now, her dwelling is in London; but her mother and she came to a place of hers five miles from Eton where the wedding was, for because it was nigh to the gentleman which wedded her daughter; and on Monday next coming—that is to say, the first Monday of Clean Lent, her mother and she will go to the pardon at Sheen,[3] and so forth to London, and there to abide in a place of hers in Bow Churchyard. And if it please you to inquire of her, her mother's name is Mistress Alborow, the name of the daughter is Margaret Alborow; the age of her is by all likelyhood eighteen, or nineteen years at the farthest; and as for the money and plate it is ready whensoever she were wedded; but as for the livelihood, I trow, not till after her mother's decease, but I cannot tell you for very certain, but you may know by inquiring.

"And as for her beauty, judge you that when you see her, if so be ye take the labour, and specially behold her hands, for and if it be as is told me she is disposed to be thick.

"And as for my coming from Eton, I lack nothing but versifying, which I trust to have with a little continuance.

[1] Creanser = creditor.

[2] Thomas Stevenson, Fellow of Eton, July 12, 1479.

[3] Sheen is now called Richmond.

'Quare, quomodo non valet hora valet mora.
Unde di [1]
Arbore jam videas exemplum. Non die possunt
Omnia suppleri, sed tamen illa mora.'

"And these two verses aforesaid be of mine own making. No more to you at this time, but God have you in his keeping. Written at Eton, the Even of Saint Mathias the Apostle,[2] in haste, with the hand of your brother.

"WILLIAM PASTON, JUN."

In a second letter Master Paston thanks his brother for a "noble in gold," which he had received, but says,

"My creanser, Master Thomas, heartily recommended him to you, and he prayeth you to send him some money for my commons, for he saith ye be twenty shillings in his debt, for a month was to pay for when he had money last; also I beseech you to send me a hose cloth, one for the holy days, of some colour, and another for the working days (how coarse soever it be it maketh no matter) and a stomacher, and two shirts, and a pair of slippers. And if it like you that I may come with Alweder by water, and sport me with you at London a day or two this term-time, then ye may let all this be till the time that I come, and then I will tell you when I shall be ready to come from Eton, by the grace of God, who have you in his keeping. Written the Saturday next after Allhallows Day, with the hand of your brother."[3]

Young Paston does not mention what his ordinary amusements were at Eton when he was not love-making; but it seems probable that he sometimes heard the King's minstrels perform in the hall.[4] In the absence of

[1] Possibly *dico*, or *dictum est*. The first line appears to be the subject set by the Master.

[2] The date is not given, but it appears to be February 23, $147\frac{8}{9}$.

[3] Fenn's *Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 237.

[4] *Eton Audit Roll*, undated, but evidently 1468—1469. "In regardo dato ministrallis domini Regis per Magistrum Præpositum vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$" In another undated

any positive statement we cannot exactly define the nature of the entertainments on these occasions; but we know that the minstrels of the fifteenth century did not confine themselves to instrumental music. They were the singers, the actors, and the buffoons of the day. The company who performed at Eton had lately been constituted a corporate body by Edward IV.[1] When a single minstrel in the service of Bishop Waynflete came to Eton[2] we may suppose that he enacted the part of a jester and mimic. A more exciting amusement was afforded to the boys by the exhibition of Lord Stanley's bears in the College.[3] There is no reason to doubt their having been baited there, as this pastime was not thought too cruel or too coarse for the eyes of Queen Elizabeth a century later.[4]

Soon after Westbury's death, the Fellows met in the Church in order to elect a new Provost in conformity with the Statutes.[5] The choice of a majority fell upon Thomas Barker, a former Vice-Provost, who was accordingly elected, in defiance of the known wishes of the King. Barker, however, simplified matters by refusing the post, wisely enough, if we are to understand a line in his epitaph literally :—

"*Id meminit, mors indignatio regum.*"[6]

The Fellows accordingly met again, and elected the King's nominee, Henry Bost, who had just been elected

Roll, probably 1472—1473, "Ministrallis domini Regis in festo Sancti Georgii vi$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$"

[1] See an interesting *Essay on the Ancient Minstrels* in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. i.

[2] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1484—1485. "In regardo dato cuidam ministrallo domini Episcopi Wynton."

[3] *Ibid.* 1482—1483. "In regardo dato custodibus ursorum Domini Stanley per Magistrum Præpositum xij$^{d.}$"

[4] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 285.

[5] *Eton Register*, vol. i.

[6] Epitaph at Eton, printed in Lipscombe's *History of Bucks*, vol. iv. p. 489. The allusion is

to a fifth Fellowship "to serve a turn," as Huggett says,[1] *i.e.*, for a qualification.

At the time of his election Bost held the Provostship of Queen's College, Oxford, and the Mastership of King's Hall, Cambridge; but he did not resign either of these preferments for some time.[2] His epitaph states that through his influence the wife of Edward IV. gave large sums to the College.[3] Eton tradition rather points him out as the confessor of Jane Shore, who could not with propriety be styled the *conjux* of the King.

We fear it is almost impossible to give any satisfactory account of the three portraits to which the name of this unfortunate woman has been assigned. One of the two pictures of her at Eton only shows the head and shoulders of a beautiful woman; the other represents the upper half of a naked figure standing by a bath and holding a piece of transparent muslin in her hands. The picture at King's College resembles the former. The sole historical evidence in support of the tradition that Jane Shore pleaded the cause of Eton with her royal lover is to be found in Sir Thomas More's interesting account of her life and character:—"Where the king toke displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his mind; where men were out of favour, she wold bring them in his grace; for many that had highly offended she obtained pardon; of great forfeitures she gate neu remission; and finally in many weighty sutes she stode many men in gret stede. . . . At this daye she beggeth of many

evidently to *Proverbs* xvi. 14, "The wrath of kings is as messengers of death."

[1] *Sloane MS.*

[2] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.*

[3] "Illius auspiciis elemosyna conjugis uncti
Edwardi Quarti larga pluebat opem."
Epitaph, now mural, in Lupton's Chapel at Eton, but formerly in the choir.

at this day living, that at this day had begged if shee had not bene."[1] More describes Jane Shore as short of stature and pale in face.

Bost was certainly acquainted with several members of the royal family. The Prince of Wales visited the College in 1480,[2] and Edward IV. was entertained there by the Provost in the month of January, 148$\frac{2}{3}$.[3] This may have been the last occasion on which he came to Eton alive, as he died on the 9th of April at Westminster. His corpse lay in state for several days, and was then conveyed with great ceremony to Sion, and so, on the following day, to Windsor, attended by some of the principal nobles and bishops of the kingdom. The funeral chariot, drawn by six coursers, carried not only the embalmed body of Edward IV. under "a riche and large black cloth of gold, with a crosse of white clothe of gold," but also a lay figure or "personage like to the similitude of the king in habite roiall, crowned with the verray crown on his hed. Holding in that one hande a sceptr, and in that other hand a balle of silver and gilte with a crosp'ate." The procession halted at Eton, and was met by the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, who came forward with the members of the College and censed the corpse,[4] while the bells were solemnly tolled.[5]

[1] More's *Works* [1557], pp. 56, 57.

[2] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1479—1480. Work was done "erga adventum familiæ domini Principis."

[3] *Ibid.* 1482—1483. "In vino —scilicet v lagenis—expenso in mense Januarii cum Rex E.4^{tus} fuit in camera Magistri Præpositi iiij$^{s.}$ iiij.$^{d.}$"

[4] There is an elaborate account of the funeral in the *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 348. printed also in Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. p. 391, and in Gairdner's *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Ric. III.*, &c., vol. i. p. 7.

[5] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1482—1483. "Et in regardis datis xij personis pulsantibus erga corpus Regis E. 4$^{ti.}$ et quotidie per x dies singulis noctibus ad mandatum Magistri Præpositi vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$"

Skelton represents the spirit of Edward IV. lamenting over the transitory nature of this world and its joys :—

"Where is now my conquest and victory?
Where is my riches and royal aray?
Where be my coursers and my horses hye?
Where is my myrth, my solas, and my play?
As vanyte, to nought al is wandred away.
O lady Bes, longe for me may ye call,
For I am departed tyl domis day;
But love ye that Lorde that is soveraygne of all.
Where be my castels and buyldynges royall?
But Windsore alone, now I have no more,
And of Eton the prayers perpetuall
Et, ecce, nunc in pulvere dormio!"

Seal of Eton College.

1483—1509.

Richard III. and Henry VII.—Death of Waynflete—Paintings in the Church—Medieval Legends—Style of the Paintings—Restitution of Property—Altars and Images in the Church—Death of Dr. Bost—Election of Dr. Lupton—Distinguished Visitors.

THE short reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. appear to have passed quietly enough at Eton. The Provost and one of the Fellows rode to London at the time of the coronation of the latter King,[1] and obtained from him a general pardon for the College.[2] Perhaps they would not have been so anxious to procure his portrait, which now hangs in the Election Chamber, if they could have foreseen the fatal battle at Bosworth.

The union of the rival claims of the Houses of Lancaster and York seemed to promise a period of peace and prosperity for the College. Without giving any credence to the spurious tradition that Henry VII.

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1482—1483. "Pro expensis Magistri Wyther ad dominum Wintoniæ London tempore coronationis Regis Ricardi tertii cum famulo xix$^{d.}$, et pro expensis Magistri Præpositi apud Sanctum Jacobum tempore coronationis Regis Ricardi tertii per vj dies xxxij$^{s.}$ xj$^{d.}$ di."

[2] Preserved in a glass case in the library at Eton.

had himself been educated at Eton,[1] we may easily imagine that he looked with favour on an institution in which his great-uncle and early patron had taken so warm an interest. We may notice a sign of the times in the restoration of a statue of Henry VI., whom the Bursars no longer scrupled to call "the most devout King, the Founder of the College."[2] Several persons who had been connected with Eton had by this time risen to high offices in the State, among whom we may especially notice Rotherham, Archbishop of York, and Marshall, Bishop of Llandaff, a former Fellow. On the other hand, the College sustained a severe loss by the death of William of Waynflete, who only survived the restoration of his own party to power by one year. However, he lived long enough to see the Church of Eton completed within as well as without. The stalls which had been erected at his expense in the choir were quite low, and not surmounted by canopies, so that there was a considerable interval between them and the string-course under the windows. The idea of leaving large expanses of stone-work white and bare, did not commend itself to the taste of medieval architects; but of course the system of decoration adopted varied considerably in different churches. At Eton it was resolved that the blank walls above the stalls should be painted with figure-subjects in the highest style of art then known. The whitewash applied in 1561, and the panelling erected in 1700, so effectually covered these paintings, that their very existence was quite forgotten until 1847. We shall hereafter have to describe the treatment which they received during the so-called "Church Restoration." Suffice it there-

[1] Creasy's *Eminent Etonians*, pp. 34, 35.

[2] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1484—1485.

fore to say, that it was not until after they had been dreadfully mutilated, that an artist—Mr. Essex—was employed to make a series of pencil drawings from them,[1]

St. Etheldreda.

St Theodosia, (?)

and that what still remains of them is concealed from view by the canopies of the new stalls.

[1] These drawings are kept in the library at Eton, and the woodcuts, which we give, have been copied from them.

There was originally a double row of paintings on the north and south walls of the choir, each row being divided longitudinally into seventeen compartments,

St. Dorothea.

St. Barbara.

alternately wide and narrow. The former contained historical compositions; the latter single figures of Saints, represented as standing in canopied niches. Most of these Saints may be identified by their emblems.

Under each of the large compartments there was a Latin inscription, explaining the subject of the picture, and giving a reference to the book whence its story was derived.[1] The works most frequently quoted were the *Legenda Sanctorum* and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, which was one of the earliest productions of the printing-press, and had already gone through three editions. According to a practice which prevailed extensively in the fifteenth century, successive incidents of a story were often represented as forming only one scene, the same figures appearing two or three times in the same picture. The whole series was intended to exemplify the gracious protection afforded by the Blessed Virgin, the Patroness of the College, to her votaries, in all ages and countries. No less than six of the compartments were occupied by scenes from the life of a mythical Roman Empress. Her legend, as given in the *Gesta Romanorum*, has been turned into verse by Occleve;[2] and one of its incidents has afforded a theme to Chaucer[3] and Gower.[4] The paintings at Eton follow the version of Vincent,[5] which differs from the other in several particulars, and which may thus be rendered :—

The Legend of a Roman Empress.

Once upon a time there was a Roman Emperor, who had a beautiful and excellent wife. None on earth were happier than they, and he trusted her entirely; so when he was starting on a long journey to the Holy Places, he committed the care of his kingdom to her. But he had a wicked brother, who loved the Empress with an unholy love, and tormented her daily with his suit. So she imprisoned him in a tower, and

[1] Mr. Essex was unable to decipher some of these inscriptions, and has given many of the references incorrectly, *e.g.*, he has always quoted the 8th instead of the 6th Book of Vincent.

[2] *Royal MS.* 17, D. vi. in the British Museum.

[3] *The Man of Lawes Tale.*

[4] *Confessio Amantis*, lib. ii.

[5] *Speculum Historiale*, lib. vi. cap. 91—93.

she ruled the country wisely and well. When five years were past, the Empress heard that her dear husband would soon return to her again, so, in her joy, she released the wicked brother. But he was not grateful for this kindness, and hastened to meet the Emperor, and said to him, "Thy wife hath been false to thee; so grievously hath she sinned that I shut myself up in a tower, so that I might not be the witness of her crimes." Then the Emperor fell on his face and wept, and he lay for an hour like a dead man. So when the Empress came to welcome her lord the next day, he looked at her reproachfully, and smote her to the ground with his own hand,

and ordered his servants to take her away and put her to death in a wood. But when they were about to ill-treat her, there passed a good knight returning from the Holy Land. And he rescued her from shame and death, and took her home with him to be nurse to his own child. This knight

also had a wicked brother who loved the fair nurse. But she would not love him. So he swore that he would be avenged, and coming secretly one night into her chamber he killed the child who was sleeping in her arms, and placed the bloody dagger in her hand. Thus the good knight and his wife were led to believe that the nurse had murdered the child. And they sent her away in a ship, saying to the captain, "Take this wretched woman hence, and leave her in some distant land, so that we may never see her face again." Then the wicked sailors, struck by her beauty, would have tempted her to evil, but, finding her to be good and virtuous, they left her on a desolate rock in the midst of the sea. And she lay down and slept sweetly. And there appeared to her a wondrously fair lady, who was none other than the Holy Virgin, who said to her, "Gather the herbs that grow beneath thee on the ground, and with them thou shalt be able to heal the sick." So she did as she was bidden, and the next day some men passed by the rock in a boat, and taking pity on her, conveyed her to a neighbouring port. And there she saw many lepers and other sick folk; so she mixed the herbs

with wine in a cup; and the sick folk drank of the wine and

Vincent Brooks Day & Son Lith.

HEAD

From one of the Mural paintings in the Church at Eton
Reduced from a drawing by R.H. Essex.

were healed. And among them there came to her one day the murderer of the good knight's child, but he knew her not. So when he was confessing his sins to her, one sin he hid, for he would not tell of the murder. Therefore the Empress would not heal him; but at last he repented of it, and then she healed him. And the good knight would have persuaded her to become the wife of his penitent brother, but she refused, for she loved none but her own husband. So she journeyed on till she came to Rome, curing many lepers on the way. Now it so chanced that the Emperor's wicked brother, who was afflicted with a grievous illness, came and prayed her to give him to drink of her medicine. But before she would give it to him she made him confess his evil deeds and his slanderous words before the Pope and the Senate. And when the fact of her innocence was thus clearly established, she made herself known to the Emperor, who received her with joy, and would fain have taken her back to be his wife. But she said, "When I was in sore distress I took an oath that I would give myself entirely to God." So she bade him farewell, and renouncing her royal station, she entered a convent and became a holy nun.

The other legends are much shorter than this one, but similar to it in character.

Who were the painters? Their work is so much more refined in character than any English frescoes or illuminations of this date, that some of them must have been foreigners. Writing in 1847,[1] Mr. G. E. Street had "no hesitation in saying that these paintings are the finest which have yet been discovered in England; more artistic, and as full of religious feeling as any, and most interesting as having most probably been executed by Florentine artists in the fifteenth century, who, for aught we know, may have been the pupils of the Beato Angelico, or their friends, as they were the contemporaries of Francia, of

[1] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. viii. p. 290.

Perugino, and of Ghirlandaio." It is difficult, however, to find any distinctive traces of Italian influence, either in the treatment of the figures, or in the style of the architectural ornaments. It would rather appear that the work was executed by, or under the direction of, Flemish artists. One of the men employed certainly bore a very English name, but he may have been only an assistant. The Audit Rolls enable us to fix the date of the paintings with tolerable certainty, the entries about them ranging between 1479 and 1487.[1]

In 1489 the two collegiate foundations of Henry VI. presented a petition to the King in Parliament, setting forth "the great decaie and ympoveryshing" suffered by them during the last three reigns, and praying for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the titles of all the occupiers of estates formerly held by either College.[2] Their request was granted, and they soon succeeded in recovering a portion of their lost possessions.[3] Eton College received several new endowments from private persons in the reign of Henry VII., among which we may notice some land at Windsor Underoure, given by Dr. Bost. This Provost made permanent provision for an additional chaplain, who should be bound to say mass for him and his relations at least three times a week at the altar of St. Katha-

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1479—1480. "Et iij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$ pro iij duodenis et dimidia in candelis datis pictoribus isto anno operantibus infra Collegium."—*Ibid.* 1482—1483. "Et Ludovico Palmer pro spongiis emptis pro picturis mundandis erga festum Assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ xx$^{d.}$ Et pro labore ejusdem Palmer et unius secum laborantis ad ipsas picturas in navi ecclesiæ mundandas xxij$^{d.}$"—*Ibid.* 1484—1485 "pictoribus et vitriatoribus laborantibus in ecclesia."—*Ibid.* 1486—1487. "Pro laboribus diversorum pictorum in opere prædicto viij$^{l.}$ vj$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$ Et pro diversis aliis coloribus occupatis de coloribus propriis unius pictoris scilicet Wilhelmi Baker iiij$^{d.}$"

[2] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 382—385.

[3] *Miscellanea of the Exchequer*, in the Public Record Office.

rine, in the nave of the Collegiate Church.[1] This altar is elsewhere said to have stood near the south door,[2] so that the row of niches now observable behind the statue of Provost Goodall, must have formed part of its reredos. It was sometimes called "the altar of Thomas Jourdelay,"[3] after an inhabitant of Eton of that name, who was buried near it, in spite of his own directions that his grave should be dug in the churchyard. His widow, Alice Jourdelay, left ten marcs for the purchase of a missal and other necessaries for this altar, and was also buried near it.[4] The corresponding altar at the north-eastern corner of the so-called "Ante-Chapel" was that of the Blessed Virgin.[5] The other two, which stood under the Rood-loft, were dedicated to St. Nicholas and St. Peter respectively.[6] In addition to these altars, we hear of images of the Holy Trinity, St. Anne, St. Andrew, St. Clement, St. Anthony, and St. Loo.[7] It would be difficult to say how many figures there were of the Patroness of the College. Her Assumption was repre-

[1] Indenture between Eton College and Queen's College Oxford, dated 9th of September, 1506, preserved in the library at Eton.

[2] *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 112. Will of Thomas Swan, 1480, who was to be buried "infra novam fabricam ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Beatæ Mariæ de Eton juxta Wyndesor coram altari cum imagine Sanctæ Katharinæ proximo hostio australi."

[3] *Ibid.* f. 124. Will of John Boraston, 1492.

[4] *Ibid.* ff. 106, 115. Wills of Thomas and of Alice Jourdelay, 1468, 1482.

[5] *Ibid.* f. 136. Will of Elizabeth Gosse, 1517, who was to be buried "before owre lady at the north dore," and left 4d. "to the awlter also, wher I intend to lye of oure lady."

[6] *Ibid.* f. 120. Will of John Kent, 1486.—*Ibid.* f. 119. Will of Alice Ryall, 1486, mentions four altars in the nave.—*Ibid.* f. 41. Will of Thomas Smyth, 1534, mentions "the four altars standing on a frunte under the crucifix of Eton Church."

[7] *Ibid.* ff. 118, 124, 126, 147. Wills of Nicholas Roche, Thomas Mede, John Durdaunt, and Robert Flecher.

sented on a large scale in the choir,[1] and her image in the middle of the nave was adorned with costly dresses, gold rings, and silver shoes.[2] She guarded the south porch,[3] and the entrance of the choir,[4] and was also represented in stained glass in the east window, with her emblem "le lylye potte."[5] St. Nicholas too appeared in several parts of the Church.[6] The jewels and relics used to be kept in the vestibule on the north side.[7] A seat of honour covered with satin was left to the Church by Provost Bost, for the use of the King and other noble visitors.[8] It had doubtless done duty on several occasions, as for instance, when the queen of Henry VII. came to Eton in March, 1502,[9] and also when the Pope's Legate came there accompanied by a Spanish grandee.[10]

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1479—1480. "*Hopeferres* supra imaginem Assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ."—*Ibid.* 1484—1485.—*Ibid.* 1488—1489. It is said to be "in cancello."

[2] *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 115. Will of Alice Jourdelay, 1482, "lego imagini Beatæ Mariæ de Eton in media ecclesiæ ibidem meam optimam zonam deauratam."—*Ibid.* f. 118. Will of Nicholas Roche, 1485.—*Ibid.* f. 119. Will of Alice Ryall, 1486, [illegible] leaves a gold ring to the images of the B. V. M. in the choir and nave.—*Eton Audit Roll*, 1488—1489. "Pro calciamentis argenteis factis pro imagine Beatæ Virginis in navi ecclesiæ ponderantibus fere iiij^{or} uncias et dimidiam."

[3] *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 116. Will of Richard Clerk, 1485.

[4] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1486—1487. "Pro positione imaginis Beatæ Mariæ ad ostium chori, et Sancti Nicholai in parte australi."

[5] *Eton Audit Book*, 1505—1506.

[6] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1452—1435. "Et in denariis solutis Wilhelmo Isham pro portatione imaginis Sancti Nicholai ex dono Regis per Magistrum Vice Præpositum xx$^{s.}$" *Ibid.* 1484—1485.

[7] *Ibid.* 1482—1483. "Pro 1 cophino empto London et deliberatum Ludovico Palmer pro reliquis et jocalibus deportandis a vestibulo ad altare et retro in diebus solemnibus viij$^{d.}$"

[8] *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 129. Will of Provost Bost, 1503. "Tria capetia, *le carpetts* cum uno pulvinari operto blanio serico ad serviendum Regi et aliis magnatibus in ecclesia."

[9] *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, p. 3.

[10] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1501—1502. "Pro vino et esculentis in refectione dato Legato Papæ et uno domino de Hispania.

Dr. Bost bequeathed to his successors his furniture in St. James's Hospital, and in the four rooms which then constituted the Provost's lodging at Eton.[1] He died in February, 150$\frac{3}{4}$,[2] and Roger Lupton, an alien, was elected by a majority of the Fellows to occupy the place thus become vacant.[3] This new Provost too had the honour of receiving several distinguished guests. The Bishops of Lincoln and Chichester came to see the College in 1504 or 1505;[4] and about the same time a grand entertainment was given to the Countess of Richmond, who is so well known at Oxford and Cambridge as "the Lady Margaret."[5] The King himself dined in the hall in October, 1505, and thereby put the College to considerable expense.[6] He does not appear to have made any halt at Eton on his way through the town in the following February, when travelling with his guest (or prisoner) Philip of Castile, but all the scholars were drawn up in line "along the barres of the chorche yeard" to welcome the two Kings.[7]

William Horman, who was Head-Master at Eton

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 129. "Omnia peripetasmata *le hangynge* iiij^{or}. camerarum mearum cum quatuor culcitris plumaceis *le fetherbedde*," &c.

[2] His monumental brass is now in Lupton's Chapel. There is a woodcut of it in Lipscomb's *History of Bucks*, vol. iv. p. 485.

[3] *Eton Register*, vol. i.

[4] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1504—1505. "Pro expensis factis circa Episcopos Lincolniensem et Cicestrensem *in victualibus* xix^{s} vij$^{d.}$"

[5] *Ibid.* "Pro expensis factis in esculentis et poculentis datis Dominæ Margaretæ matri Regis iiij$^{l.}$ vij$^{s.}$ vij$^{d.}$ Et in regardis datis famulis ejusdem per Magistrum Præpositum xx$^{s.}$ Et uni ducenti ferinam eodem tempore in regardo xx$^{d.}$ Et pro vino dato diversis extraneis in cubiculo Magistri Præpositi hoc anno xx$^{d.}$"

[6] *Eton Audit Book*, 1505—1506. "Pro expensis factis circa Dominum Regem Henricum Septimum existentem in Collegio in prandio xxj^{o} die Octobris cum dominis aliis magnatibus xiij$^{l.}$ ix$^{d.}$ q."

[7] Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. p. 444.

for several years in the reign of Henry VII., will be mentioned in the following chapter as Vice-Provost. His successor, Edward Powell, only ruled the School for a short time,[1] and after obtaining several ecclesiastical preferments, died on the scaffold in 1540, for refusing to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy and the validity of the divorce of Queen Katharine.[2]

[1] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1495—1496.

[2] Dodd's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 209. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 117.

Double Doorway in the Cloister.

1509–1547.

New Buildings—Benefactors—Property near London—Ecclesiastical Surveys—William Horman—Resignation of Provost Lupton—Bishop Aldrich—Funeral of Jane Seymour—Richard Cox and Nicholas Udall—The Eton Plays—Confiscation threatened—Funeral of Henry VIII.

THE death of Henry VII. in 1509 did not in any way affect the fortunes of Eton. His son and successor paid a visit to the College at the beginning of July in the following year, and was entertained at a cost of nearly 18*l.*[1] His offering of 13*s.* 4*d.* in the Church, and his present of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the School-Master and the scholars was but a meagre return for the hospitality which he received.[2] The College, however, could by this time get on very well without royal subventions. Its revenue had increased so considerably that the charges for extensive building operations could be defrayed out of the ordinary income. The old houses which still stood between

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1509—1510.

[2] Brewer's *Letters and Papers*, vol. ii. p. 1447.

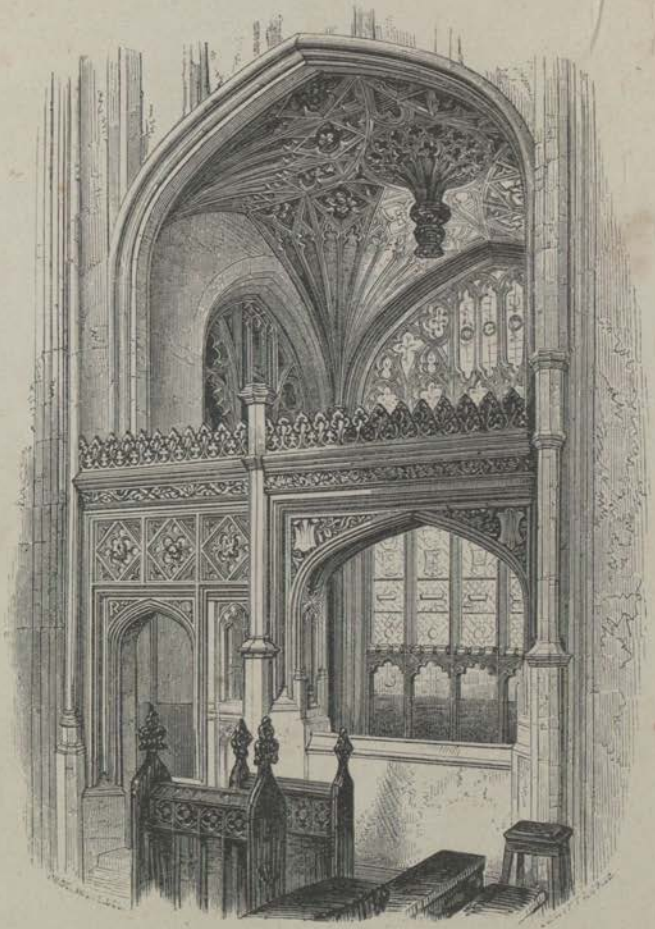
the cloister and the School-Yard, were pulled down in 1516,[1] and on the 2nd of March in the following year "the fyrst stone was layd in the fundacyon off the west part off the College wheron is bylded M. Provost logyn the Gate and the lyberary."[2] The tower then erected over the gateway is to this day called after Provost Lupton. Since his time its exterior has been altered by the addition of a clock-dial and a pair of bell-turrets. It appears probable that the large room now called the Election Hall was originally built to serve as a library. The invention of printing had made books much commoner than they were in the time of Henry VI.; but a few low presses could still have held all the volumes that the College possessed. Some expense was incurred almost every year, at this period, for book-binding, or for purchasing chains of various sizes to fasten the books to the desks.[3]

No attempt was made at this prosperous epoch to carry out the Founder's designs for the Church; but a small chapel was built between two of the buttresses on the north side, entirely at the cost of Provost Lupton. In the carved spandrels of the screen which separates it from the choir, we may notice the initial "R" of his Christian name and the rebus of the letters LUP on a *tun*, as shown in the woodcut at the end of this chapter. The shield, on the boss of the groined roof of this chapel, bears the Lupton Arms augmented by *three lily-flowers argent on a chevron* which would otherwise be plain *sable*. Roger Lupton followed the example of his great predecessor Waynflete, in adding

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1515—1516. A payment "deponenti tegulas veteris domus ubi nunc est nova ædificatio in occidentali quadræ per iiij. dies."

[2] Memorandum in *Building Accounts*.

[3] *Eton Audit Books*, passim.



LUPTON'S CHAPEL.

Eton lilies to his paternal coat; and the Lupton family of Thame now bears these Arms,[1] though, of course, it is only collaterally descended from the worthy Provost. Lupton supplied his chantry with valuable ornaments and vestments during his lifetime, and transferred to the College the manor of Puryton in Hertfordshire for the maintenance of a priest. By the arrangement which he made with the Fellows in 1516, there was to be a yearly distribution of money on the anniversary of his death. The Provost was to receive 2*s.* 8*d.*; the Fellows, Master, and Lupton's Chaplain, 1*s.* 4*d.*; the other Chaplains and the Usher 8*d.*; the Clerks 6*d.*, and the Scholars and Choristers a penny apiece. This penny makes one of the three which are still given to each of the Scholars and Choristers every year on the 27th of February—"Threepenny day."[2] Lupton stipulated that his Chaplain should have his commons in hall at the cost of the College, and a room to himself.[3] It is not clear whether the other Chaplains enjoyed this latter privilege. The Clerks certainly were still lodged two and two, as appears from an allowance made to one of them during his absence from the College, while his chamber-fellow was lying dead.[4] Lupton lived more than twenty years after completing the arrangements connected with his chapel, but the

[1] Burke's *General Armory.*

[2] The College has been accused of defrauding the boys by giving them this small sum instead of the value of half a sheep apiece, but on what grounds it is difficult to see. The boys might more justly claim three shillings, on account of the change in the value of money since Lupton's time.

[3] The Agreement, dated August 3, 8th Henry VIII., is among the Muniments at Eton.

[4] *Eton Audit Book*, 1525—1526. "Rogero Whitworth clerico in regardo mense Decembris pro abscedendo seipso a Collegio ad tempus post obitum Hugonis Clerici concubicularis sui iij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$"

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priest entered on his duties at once, and used to celebrate the Provost's exequies on the 21st of January.

One of the earliest recorded appearances of the plague at Eton was in 1510, when it raged so fiercely that most of the scholars moved for safety to the neighbouring village of Langley.[1] The Master who accompanied them thither was Robert Aldrich, afterwards Provost. He used to teach the Latin grammar according to the old Winchester system,[2] but the introduction of Greek into the School, is perhaps due to his exertions. Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford, writing in 1556, says, "I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton the Greke tongue was growing apace; the studie of which is now a late much decaid."[3] Pope was probably a Commensal; but no lists of his time have been preserved. One of the few incised brasses in the Church which have escaped destruction, records the death of "Richard Grey, Lord Grey, Cotenore, Wylton, and Ruthyn" in 1521,[4] and represents him in the armour which he wore as Henchman or Page-of-Honour to Henry VIII., from which we may infer that, by this date at least, the Founder's wish that the School should be frequented by the "sons of noblemen" as well as by "poor and needy scholars," had been realized.

The College appeared to be in such a flourishing condition in 1525, that Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, gave orders that the three vacant Fellowships should be filled up, so as to raise the number once more to ten,

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1509—1510. The expenses were 7*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*

[2] Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 6.

[3] Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 226.

[4] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. pp. 58, 396, 400.

as prescribed by Henry VI. The Provost and Fellows, however, answered that they were unable to obey the Visitor's mandate on account of the narrowness of their income;[1] and so the matter was allowed to rest for another century. Two years later Bishop Longland held a Visitation at Eton.[2] Cardinal Wolsey also cited the College to appear before him,[3] though his right to do so was questionable, as he was neither Bishop of Lincoln nor Archbishop of Canterbury. He may perhaps have considered that in the capacity of Papal Legate he might with impunity override all ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

A more friendly Bishop was Nicholas West of Ely, who had been elected from Eton to King's in 1483. At Cambridge he is said to have distinguished himself by setting fire to the Provost's Lodge, and by carrying off some silver spoons. But "naughty boys sometimes make good men," and in after life "he would have quenched the fire he made in the College with his own tears; and in expression of his penitence he became a worthy benefactor to the house, and rebuilt the master's lodging firm and fair to the ground."[4] We do not know of his having any similar misdeeds to atone for at Eton, but we find him sending money to the College, for the purchase of church ornaments.[5]

Several other benefactors at this period may be dis-

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4840, ff. 231, 232.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Eton Audit Book*, 1526—1527. "Apparitori domini Cardinalis citantis Collegium ad visitationem mense Junii in regardo ij$^{s.}$"

[4] Fuller's *Worthies.—Surrey.* The facts that West continued to hold his Fellowship till 1498, and that he took his degree in the regular manner, tend to discredit this story.

[5] *Eton Audit Book*, 1525—1526. "In regardo dato famulo Episcopi Eliensis afferenti c marcas ad Collegium pro ornamentis emendis ad templum xij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$"

missed in a few lines. John Argentine, Provost of King's, and physician to Henry VIII., left to Eton a large silver ewer and basin;[1] and Geoffrey Blythe, Bishop of Lichfield, left a large standing covered cup, which had been given to him by Ladislaus, King of Hungary.[2] Both these bequests have disappeared with the rest of the older plate. Robert Rede of Burnham left property for the celebration of an annual mass for his soul and that of Meriel his wife. He died in 1515, and was buried in the Church of Eton[3] at the expense of the College.[4] Thomas Smyth, *alias* Butler, a layman of Eton, also made an arrangement for the solemn observance of the anniversary of his death, "yerly which the world shall induer." The services were to consist of a "*Placebo* and *Dirige* by note, with vj. lessons with *Laudis* on nyght, excepte on pascall tyme, and on the morrow masse of *Requiem*." While these offices were being said, there were to be four tapers continually burning round a cross over a herse "sett in the myddis of the body of the church." The College undertook to pray for the souls of Smyth's relations as well as for his own, and to pay a small annuity; but the price at which these privileges were sold is not stated in the deed.[5] Smyth afterwards exhibited further proofs of his devotion by bequeathing money to the high altar, and "to the 4 altars standing on a frunte under the crucifix of Eton Church." He also left legacies to various members of the College, and some plate for the high table.[6]

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 26.

[2] *Cole's MS.* vol. xiii. f. 107.

[3] Lipscomb's *History of Bucks*, vol. iv. p. 489.

[4] *Eton Audit Roll*, 1514—1515. The account in Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 92, is utterly erroneous.

[5] July 6, 1528. The original contract in the British Museum. *Addl. Charter*, 1557, has been transcribed and printed in *Notes and Queries*, vol. xii. p. 280.

[6] *Eton Register*, vol. i. f. 41.

The Eton baker must have been an adept in his art, for when Henry VIII. was at Windsor he frequently had cakes from him. The Provost's servant who carried them up to the Castle generally received a fee of five shillings.[1] It would have been well for the College if the greed of Henry VIII. could have been so easily satisfied, for he soon began to cast covetous eyes on something more substantial than cakes.

The Founder had, as we have seen,[2] bestowed on Eton the Hospital of St. James at Westminster, and successive Provosts had used a portion of it as an occasional residence. The property attached to it lay in several suburban parishes of Middlesex, most of which have, since that time, been absorbed into London. It did not yield any enormous rental in the early part of the sixteenth century; but owing to its position it was certain to increase in value. The King was shrewd enough to perceive this, and in 1531 persuaded, or ordered, the College to effect an exchange of lands with him, justifying the saying :—

"Henricus Octavus took away more than he gave us."

Lupton and the Fellows thereby surrendered the Hospital of St. James with all its appurtenances, reserving only the "White Bear" in Cheapside, a tenement in Westminster, and the estates called Chalcots and Wilds in the comparatively distant parishes of Hendon, Finchley, and Hampstead. The property which thus passed to the King, was situated principally between Charing Cross and Hay Hill—sixty-four acres being on the southern side of the great thoroughfare now called Piccadilly, and ninety-four acres in "the

[1] Nicolas's *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.* pp. 52—64.

[2] Page 51.

North Field" on the opposite side of that road. Besides this there were eighteen acres at Knightsbridge, five at "Temmys meade," half an acre at "Chelsey meade," and two acres at Fulham.[1] It is difficult to estimate what the Eton revenue would now be, if the College Bursars received the rents of the squares and streets which have since been built on this property. Henry VIII. dismissed the leprous sisters of St. James, pulled down the old buildings, and in their stead erected the Palace which still bears the name of the Patron Saint of the ancient hospital.[2]

The King does not appear to have paid many visits to the College, though, of course, he frequently passed through the town of Eton. In 1519 he celebrated the Festival of St. George with great pomp, though a month later than usual, on account of the Saint's anniversary falling on Easter Eve. He left Richmond on the 27th of May, and went first to Hounslow, where he was met by the Knights of the Garter and their suites, each Duke bringing with him sixty horses, each Marquis fifty, and so on in proportion. The gorgeous cavalcade passed through Slough, and then through Eton, "where all they of the Colledge stood along in manner of Procession, receiving his Grace after their custom." The Queen and the ladies of her Court had taken a shorter road from Colnbrook to Windsor, crossing the Thames by the ferry at Datchet.[3] Stowe observes that this Feast of St. George was held "with as great solemnity as it had beene the feast of a coronation."[4]

[1] Deed in one of the glass cases in the library at Eton.

[2] Wheatley's *Round about Piccadilly.*

[3] Ashmole's *Order of the Garter.*

[4] *Annals.*

Of course, no subject could emulate such a display as this; but Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, used to live in great state, thereby incurring the jealousy of his royal cousin. He visited Eton in April 1521, and made an offering of half-a-marc "to our Lady,"[1] just a month before his execution. Another distinguished visitor was the Lord Chancellor Audley, who came to Eton in 1535 or 1536, after having given the Provost reason to expect him on two occasions in the previous year.[2]

The early years of the Reformation passed quietly enough at Eton. Lupton and the Fellows, without a single dissentient voice, formally repudiated the Pope's jurisdiction, and acknowledged the Royal Supremacy, in July, 1534.[3] Henry VIII. seems to have wished to invest himself with the revenues as well as with the prerogatives of the Pope, and in this year obtained from Parliament a grant of the first-fruits and tithes on ecclesiastical property.[4] In the valuation which was made in the following year, the net income of Eton College was set down at a few shillings short of 1000*l.*, and the tithe, accordingly, at more than 99*l.*[5] A subsequent statute, indeed, exempted from the payment of these tithes the two Universities, and the Colleges of Eton and Winchester, "where yowth and good wyttes be educate and noryshed in vertue and larning." But for a "perpetuall memoriall, and leste suche inestimable goodness and bounteouse gyfte by his Majestie at this tyme declared to his Universities and Colleges aforesaid

[1] Brewer's *Letters and Papers*, vol. iii. p. 501.

[2] *Eton Audit Books*, 1534—1536.

[3] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 505.

[4] *Statute*, 26 Henry VIII. c. 3.

[5] Hunter's *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

should be had in oblyvyon," each of these bodies was ordered to say solemn masses for Henry VIII., Queen Anne Boleyn, and the Princess Elizabeth, on the 8th days of May and October, every year.[1]

Several inventories of plate, ornaments, relics, vestments, and books, drawn up at this period, have been preserved among the muniments at Eton. They deserve the attention of ecclesiologists; but we shall confine ourselves to noticing as specimens—

"A coote of blewe velvett for our ladie with rynges and oothre dyverse brooches, with an image that my lorde of Devonshire offred."

"A parte of the nayle that our Lorde was nayled wth all closed in silver all white."

"A stone that Saint Stevyn was stoned wth all."

"Stones of Saint Wenefryd's well."

Many of the items in these inventories are described as having once belonged to William Horman, the Vice-Provost. All the plate and the vestments which he presented to the College have disappeared since then, and only a few of his illuminated manuscripts remain in the library, to make us the more regret the loss of the others. Horman was probably the most learned member of the College at that time, and was certainly an author of some reputation. Anthony a-Wood[2] and Mr. Walcott[3] describe him as a Fellow of New College, but Mr. Cooper claims him as a member of the rival University.[4] However this may be, it is clear that Horman was Master at Eton in 1487,[5] and that he afterwards occupied the corre-

[1] *Statute*, 27 Henry VIII. c. 42.

[2] *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. pp. 78, 79.

[3] *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 356.

[4] *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. i. pp. 53, 54.

[5] *Eton Audit Rolls*, 1487—1494.

sponding position at Winchester. He returned to Eton as a Fellow in 1502, and continued there until his death in 1535, at a ripe age, little short of a hundred years.[1] His most important work is entitled "*Vulgaria Puerorum*," and was doubtless intended for use in the school at Eton. It consists of a collection of short English sentences, with their Latin equivalents, arranged as in a phrase-book, according to the subjects. Many of the sentences are interesting as illustrating the manners and opinions of the time. Thus we read :—

"Children do lerne to swymme leaning upon the rynde of a tree or corke."

"It is the custome that every yere we shal have a May Kynge."

"I never had fantasy to playenge at the dice and tables."

"There be smal clockis for a chambre to wake a man out of his slepe."

"London speche and rayment is far fyner than Yorke."

Of the Founder of Eton, Horman writes,—

"King Henry doth many divers miracles."

The original contract between the author and Pynson, the celebrated printer, shows that the latter undertook to print 600 copies of the *Vulgaria*, in 1519, for 32*l.* 15*s.*—equivalent to some 400*l.* at the present time.[2] It has been calculated that the work could now be produced for half of this latter sum.[3] Horman dedicated his book to the Bishop of Lincoln, and obtained commendatory Latin verses from Aldrich, Master of Eton, from Lilly, the famous

[1] Epitaph incised on brass at Eton, printed, incorrectly, in Lipscomb's *History of Bucks*, vol. iv. p. 489.

[2] Brewer's *Letters and Papers*, vol. iii. p. 118.

[3] See an article by Mr. Furnivall in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society*.

Master of St. Paul's, and from Lilly's son-in-law and subsequent successor, Rightwise, who had been educated at Eton. Two years later, Horman combined with his friend Lilly in defending their system of teaching Latin, against the attacks of Robert Whittington, who had chosen to call himself "Bossus." They styled their reply "*Antibossicon*," and made several puns on the name of their adversary, which, they said, was derived from the Bosse of Billingsgate—a fountain in the shape of a bear. Horman accordingly wrote—

Nomine diviso, BOSSUS, BOS *efficit et* SUS,
Ex junctis BOSSUS *protinus* URSUS *erit*.

The book also contains a large woodcut representing a bear being worried by dogs. As Dr. Maitland remarks, "Nothing could have been a more appropriate type of the style in which the controversy was carried on than a Billingsgate bear;" and it is curious to observe that the language of that locality had the same reputation in the sixteenth century that it has now.[1]

Horman died in April 1535; and another change in the *personnel* of the College was caused a few months later by the resignation of Provost Lupton.[2] The reasons which induced him to take this step are not stated, but it is quite possible that he may have felt some uneasiness as to the impending changes in ecclesiastical affairs. However this may be, he retained his stall at Windsor until his death, which did not occur until several years later.

Lupton must have given some notice of his intended resignation beforehand, as the Fellows met on the

[1] Maitland's *Early Printed Books in the Lambeth Library*, pp. 415—419.
[2] *Eton Register*.

very next day to elect a new Provost. There was no dissension among them, for they were in receipt of a letter from their "most loving and most illustrious prince," Henry VIII., who, as they well knew, could not be disobeyed with impunity. The proper forms were duly observed, and Robert Aldrich was declared to be the successor of Roger Lupton.[1] Aldrich was the first Provost who had been educated at Eton and at King's College, in accordance with the Founder's wishes; nor was he less qualified for the post in other respects. His learning was commended by Erasmus and Leland, the former of whom he had accompanied on his celebrated pilgrimage to Walsingham.[2] He had, as we have seen, been Master at Eton for some years, but had resigned that office in order to go abroad on a mission to the King of France and the Pope. About a year after his election to the Provostship, Aldrich was elevated to the See of Carlisle, and for some time he attempted to discharge the duties of both offices. The Audit Books show that he was often absent from Eton, especially during the sessions of Parliament, for he was a keen politician.[3] The College had to pay the rent of his house at Westminster, as the Hospital of St. James was no longer available. The rooms lately added to the Lodge at Eton were nevertheless, panelled, hung with tapestry, and furnished, for his use.[4]

In addition to his other preferments, Aldrich held the office of Almoner to the Queen—Jane Seymour—but only for a short time, as she died on the 24th of October, 1537, soon after giving birth to the Prince

[1] *Eton Register.*

[2] Nichols's *Pilgrimages of Erasmus.*

[3] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.*

[4] *Eton Audit Books*, 1537—1547.

of Wales. Her dead body lay in state for nearly three weeks at Hampton Court, and thither Aldrich repaired in order to take his place in the procession which started for Windsor on the 12th of November. "The corpse was put in a chair covered with a rich pall; and thereupon the representation of the Queen in her robes of estate, with a rich crown of gold upon her head, all in her hair loose, a sceptre of gold in her right hand, and on her fingers rings set with precious stones, and her neck richly adorned with gold and stones; and under the head a rich pillow of cloth of gold tissue; her shoes of cloth of gold, with hose and smock, and all other ornaments."

The hearse was drawn by six horses draped with black velvet. The King did not appear at the funeral of his best-loved wife, having gone away "leaving some of his counsellors to take order about her burial." The Princess Mary therefore rode as chief mourner between the Lords Clifford and Mountagu, and was followed by other ladies of the Court.[1] The procession appears to have made a halt at Eton, for there was an unusual number of strangers in the hall that day and an extra kilderkin of beer was consumed. The College authorities had employed labourers during the previous three days to repair the road between the Long Bridge and Baldwyn's Pool.[2] The high-way indeed, seems to have been in a sad condition at this time, having doubtless been much injured by the heavy traffic connected with the building operations at the College. There were no turnpikes in the

[1] Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. pp. 508—509.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1537—1538. "Pro uno *le kylderkey de byre* empto in obitu Reginæ pro extraneis venturis in Collegium xij$^{d.}$" "Et pro prabulo equorum domini Præpositi quando redibat de Hampton Curte cum Regina ad Collegium xvj$^{d.}$"

sixteenth century, and it was not unusual for the inhabitants of Eton to leave money in their wills towards the repair of the road between Windsor and Slough.[1]

The last Head-Master whom we have mentioned by name was Aldrich, and the two persons who follow him on the list were not in any way remarkable. The third, however, Richard Cox, deserves a passing notice on account of the celebrity which he afterwards attained. He was a native of the County of Buckingham, and, as such, had gained admission to Eton, whence he had duly proceeded to King's. At the age of twenty-eight or twenty-nine he returned, in the capacity of Master, to his old school, "which was happy with many florishing wits, under his endeavours, and Haddon amongst the rest, whom he loved with filiall affection, nor will it be amisse to insert the Poeticall Passe betwixt them.

"Walter Haddon to Doctor Cox his Schoolmaster—

'Vix caput attollens e lecto scribere carmen
Qui velit, is voluit scribere plura. Vale.'

"Doctor Cox to Walter Haddon his Scholar—

'Te magis optarem salvum sine carmine fili
Quam sine te salvo, carmina multa. Vale.'"[2]

Cox was from the first a warm adherent of the Lutheran party in the Church, and he probably imbued some of his pupils with his own views. Robert Glover embraced the new doctrines so zealously as to suffer death at the stake on their behalf.[3] Cox left

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. i. ff. 107, 118, 147. Wills of Thomas Jourdelay, Thomas Champeneys, Nicholas Roche, and Robert Fletcher.

[2] Fuller's *Worthies—Bucks.*

[3] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments.*

Eton in 1534, and was subsequently appointed tutor to Prince Edward, and Dean of Christ Church. At Oxford he caused great scandal by being the first to bring a wife to reside in College; but posterity will not judge him so harshly for this, as for his wanton destruction of the ancient treasures of literature and art that had until then been preserved in the various libraries at the University. In the days of persecution he fled abroad; but he was afterwards appointed Bishop of Ely by Elizabeth.[1]

Nicholas Udall, who succeeded Cox at Eton, was also inclined to Protestant opinions, though his manner of life was not such as to render him an ornament to any religious body. He undertook the management of the School in 1534, when he was about twenty-eight years of age; but he had already had some experience in teaching, and had published "Flowers for Latine Spekynge, selected and gathered oute of Terence, and the same translated into Englysshe." He doubtless introduced this book into the School at Eton, and he was enabled to bring out a second edition in 1538. That year was rendered more remarkable by the outbreak of a pestilence, which necessitated a temporary removal of the School to Hedgerley.[2] During his tenure of office, Udall acquired a great reputation for the discipline which he used to maintain by a free use of the birch. Walter Haddon describes him as "the best schoolmaster and the greatest beater of our time,"[3] though he himself had left Eton just early enough to escape any personal experience of Udall's powers. Thomas Tusser, the author of the "Five hundred

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. pp. 465—469.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1537—1538.

[3] Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, preface.

points of good husbandry," was not so fortunate in this respect, and records that—

> "From Powles I went, to Aeton sent
> To learne straightwayes the Latin phraise
> Where fiftie three stripes given to mee
> at once I had;
> For faut but small or none at all,
> It came to passe thus beat I was;
> See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
> to mee, poore lad!"

The Eton tradition in favour of frequent flogging was maintained by William Malim, and after a milder period, fully revived by John Keate. On one subject, however, there was a wide difference of opinion between Udall and Keate, for the former was as anxious to promote acting as the latter was to discourage it. We have already seen[1] that the Eton boys in the fifteenth century used to be entertained from time to time by the King's minstrels; but the exact date at which the College theatricals were introduced is unknown. The earliest notice of them we have met with, is in 1525, when two plays were performed in the hall at Christmas.[2] They afterwards became an annual institution, and a box full of "players' cloathes" was kept in the room of the Master,[3] who generally undertook the management of the performances. There is every reason to believe that the earliest English comedy now extant was written by Udall, for his scholars, and the history of its identification is singular. A small piece styled "Ralph Roister Doister," was picked up by an old

[1] Page 82.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1525—1526. "Pro expensis circa ornamenta ad duos lusus in aula tempore natalis Domini, xs."

[3] A list of its contents has been printed in *Etoniana*, p. 214.

Etonian—the Rev. T. Briggs—in 1818, and by him presented to the Eton library in December of that year, simply as a literary curiosity. The book had no title-page, and it was not until after it had been reprinted twice, that the name of the author was discovered, through the occurrence in it of the original of a passage quoted in Wilson's "Rule of Reason," as being taken from "an interlude made by Nicholas Udall." Thus, by a strange coincidence, it proved that the volume presented to the Eton library was in fact the long-lost composition of an Eton Master of the sixteenth century.[1] Inasmuch as the "Rule of Reason" was printed in 1551, and "Ralph Roister Doister" in 1566, the latter must have existed only in manuscript for several years. If we take into consideration the fact that Thomas Wilson had been educated at Eton under Udall,[2] we may venture to surmise that he had become acquainted with the play in question by having taken a part in it, or, at the least, witnessed its performance, during his school-days. "The scene of 'Ralph Roister Doister' is laid in London, so that in no slight degree it is a representation of the manners of more polished society, exhibiting some of the peculiarities of thinking and acting in the Metropolis at the time when it was written. It is divided into acts and scenes, and is one of the earliest productions for the stage which has reached us, in a printed shape, with these distinctions."[3] Some of Udall's pupils

[1] *Ralph Roister Doister* has been reprinted at least six times since 1818. The edition published by the *Shakespeare Society* contains a careful memoir of Udall by Mr. W. D. Cooper; but the most accessible edition is that issued among Mr. Arber's *English Reprints*.

[2] This fact has escaped the notice of the various editors—even of Mr. Cooper.

[3] Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 450.

seem to have cultivated the taste for acting which he had implanted in them, for when Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge in 1564, an English play by him, called *Ezekias*, was performed before her, being "handled by King's College men only."[1] It cannot have been written for the occasion, as the author had been dead several years; so it is natural to suppose that it was selected on account of some of the actors having already appeared in it, in their younger days, on the Eton stage.

Udall's career as Head-Master was brought to an abrupt termination by certain disclosures seriously affecting his character, which were made in the course of a curious investigation at Westminster. It appears that a robbery of silver images and other plate had been committed at Eton in 1541 by two of the scholars, with the assistance of the Master's servant. Cheney and Hoorde—both boys of good family—were summoned before the Privy Council, confessed their guilt, and were committed to custody; as was also a London goldsmith, who was suspected of being their accomplice. They were all released a few days later, but only on very heavy bail, that of young Cheney being in no less a sum than 100*l.* In the meanwhile Udall himself was examined on the matter by interrogatories, and, whether innocent or guilty of the robbery, had to confess to the most scandalous immorality. He was accordingly sent to the Marshalsea,[2] and a certain Tyndall was appointed to succeed him at Eton.[3]

The date and cause of Udall's release are unknown,

[1] Nichols's *Progresses of Elizabeth*, vol. iii. p. 177.

[2] Nicolas's *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. pp. 152, 153, 155, 158, 190, 191.

[3] Cooper, p. xxiii.

but he evidently had some powerful friend at Court to whom he addressed an abject letter, which is too long for insertion at full length. He begins by thanking his patron for a kind though ineffectual attempt to procure his "restitution to the roume of scholemaister in Eton," which he had desired "oonly of an honest purpose to discharge my debtes, and by little and little as I might to paye every man his own." He then makes the most piteous entreaties for further favour.

"Noo sikeness, noo losse of worldly goddes, none ympresonyng, noo tormentes, noo death, noo kind of other mysfortune could have persed my herte, or made in it soo deepe a wound as hath this your displeasure. . . . . I doubte not but that it shall more redounde to your worship, by your clemencie to have made of an unthrifte an honest man, then through your extreme severitee to suffre me utterly to bee cast awaye. To hurte, to undoe, to spill a man is a thyng of small glorie, and easie for every man to dooe; but to preserve, or to recover a man from present extinction *hoc demum magni excelsique ac generosi est animi.* . . . Accepte this myn honest chaunge, from vice to vertue, from prodigalitee to frugall livyng, from negligence of teachyng to assiduitee, from play to studie, from lightnes to gravitee; nor esteme it the wurse or the lighter, for that it begynneth of repentaunce, but rather persuade yourself that the same repentaunce shall still remein within my brest as a continual spurre or thorne to pricke and to quicken me to goodnes from tyme to tyme, as often as neede shall require."[1]

It was not until more than a year after his dismissal, that Udall obtained the arrears of his salary from the Eton Bursars.[2] His subsequent career does not

[1] The letter has been printed in *Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camden Society), from *MS. Titus* B. viii. f. 371; and again in Mr. Cooper's edition of *Ralph Roister Doister*.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1542—1543. "Solutum Magistro Udall

strictly concern us, but we may mention that it was chiefly devoted to literary pursuits. In the reign of Henry VIII. he produced a translation of the "Apothegmes" of Erasmus, and of his more celebrated "Paraphrase" on St. Luke. Under Edward VI. he was able to proceed further in the direction of Protestantism, by translating Peter Martyr's Treatise on the Eucharist, which caused his name to be placed on the Roman *Index*. The accession of Mary did not affect him injuriously, and he superintended two dramatic performances in her presence, one of which took place at her Coronation. His Protestant opinions, and his former outrage on morality, did not prevent Udall from obtaining the Mastership of Westminster School, about 1554. He died shortly afterwards.

The investigation resulting in the disgrace of Udall had been conducted, not before an ordinary court of law, but before the Privy Council, which then exercised authority in a great variety of cases. An order made by that body a few months earlier, related to Bishop Aldrich, who was accused of having left his diocese for the sake of lingering at his comfortable residence at Eton, rather "than for any other just cause." He was accordingly commanded, on the King's behalf, to return forthwith to Carlisle, "there to remain for the feeding of the people, both with his preaching and good hospitality."[2]

Aldrich was doubtless present at the funeral of his predecessor Roger Lupton, who died in the month of February 1540. This ex-Provost had left elabo-

pro stipendio suo a retro et aliis ei debitis pro officio suo dum informaret pueros, in plena satisfactione, liij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$" This entry was not known to Mr. Cooper or Mr. Arber.

[1] Cooper, pp. —xxxiv.

[2] Nicolas's *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. p. 88.

rate instructions concerning a feast to be held in the College hall on the day of his funeral, and again at his "month's mind,"[1] and for the daily tolling of a bell in the interval. He had provided more than 20*l.* for distribution among the various members of the College on these two occasions, more than 15*l.* for the poor and the children in the town, and 4*l.* for forty strange priests who were to say mass for his soul at Eton.[2] Lupton lies buried in his own chapel, and a monumental brass, now affixed to the wall, represents him vested in the peculiar cope then worn by the Canons of Windsor.

Henry VIII. was not satisfied with the exchange of lands which he had concluded with the College in 1531, and, eleven years later, compelled the Provost and Fellows to dispose of another portion of the former property of the Hospital of St. James. On this second occasion he paid 52*l.* for "syx acres of meadowes lying near Chilcotthyll in the parishe of Seynte Pancrase and Marybone, in the Countye of Midd. inclosed within his Grace's parke of Marybone," and for fourteen adjacent acres of wood.[3] The College was fortunately allowed to retain more than a hundred acres of land close to Primrose Hill, where a cricket-ground and several streets now take their name from Eton. This property is likely to yield a considerable revenue in the future.

A worse danger, however, than any partial loss of lands soon threatened the College, for Henry VIII., having squandered the enormous proceeds of his previous acts

[1] For "Month's Minds" see Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 213.

[2] Will of Roger Lupton, in the Court of Probate, London. *Alenger*, f. 4.

[3] Indenture at Eton.

of spoliation, obtained from the Parliament of 1545 a grant of all chantries, free chapels, hospitals, and colleges.[1] Eton and Winchester, as well as the two Universities, were thus placed at the mercy of the King, and their experience of his former proceedings was not reassuring. Their alarm has been characterised as "unnecessary" by the apologist of Henry VIII.;[2] and it might seem incredible that the King should for a moment have thought of suppressing the principal seats of learning in the country. Yet it must be remembered that no consideration of the great educational work carried on by the regular clergy up to the time of their dispersion, had induced him to spare a single monastery. Mr. Furnivall mentions as "well known" the fact "that the post-Reformation grammar schools did not at first educate as many boys as the old monastic schools."[3] Henry VIII. did indeed assure the Universities of his pacific intentions towards them; but he seems to have contemplated the destruction of Eton. At any rate, his Commissioners proceeded thither on the 27th of March, 1546, and prepared a report on the annual revenues and expenses of the College.[4] They then made a valuation of the ornaments and plate preserved there, setting down the former at more than 312*l.*, and the latter at almost 3,000 ounces. Their inventory records that these goods were "delyveryd & commytted by the seid commissioners the seid daye and yere unto the seide provoste and college to be safelye kepte usyd and preserved to the use of our seide soverign lorde untill his highnes further

[1] *Statute* 37 Henry VIII. c. 4.

[2] Froude's *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 490.

[3] *Education in Early England*, p. lvii.

[4] Part of this report has been printed in Creasy's *Eminent Etonians*; p. 74, but only from Huggett's imperfect transcript.

pleasure shal be signyfied and declared in that behalf." No order was made as to the future disposition of the revenue, but the Fellows knew pretty well what to expect. One of them wrote on the counterpart of the Commissioners' Indenture an appropriate quotation :—

"*Fuit Ilium et ingens*
Gloria Teucrorum, ferus omnia Jupiter Argos
Transtulit, incensa Danai dominantur in urbe."[1]

The death of the tyrant himself afforded little security against further molestation, so long as his rapacious courtiers retained office and influence.

Eton has never seen a more gorgeous procession than that which accompanied the corpse of Henry VIII. from Westminster to Windsor. The highway had been cleared and mended, and the various parishes lying on it had received "hatches and escotcheons of armes" as well as grants of money,[1] so that no place was without some signs of mourning. According to the custom of the time there was laid upon the coffin an effigy of the deceased King "with the true imperial crown on the head, and under it a night-cap of black sattin, set full of precious stones; and appareled with robes of crimson velvet, furred with minever, powdered with ermine, the Collar of the Garter, with the order of St. George, about the neck; a crimson satin doublet embroidered with gold, two bracelets of gold about the wrists set with stones and pearl, a fair armoury sword by his side, the sceptre in the right hand, the ball in the left, a pair of scarlet hose, crimson velvet shoes, gloves on the hands, and several diamond rings on the fingers." The chariot was "drawn by eight great horses, trapped with black, adorned with escutcheons, and a shaffedon on their heads, on each of which rode a child of honour carrying

[1] Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. part 2.

a bannerol of the king's arms. Thus with an exceeding great train of four miles in length the body was conducted to Syon" on the 16th of February.[1] On the following morning, all the lords and their attendants "marched forth from town to town, where they were received in procession with the priests and clerks of every parish on each side of the way, censing the corps, as the day before; and al the bells rung in every church against their coming. And so they proceeded till they came to Eton, where along the churchyard wal were the Bishop of Carlile (the Provost), *in pontificalibus*, and al the fellows and masters of the said Church, in their best ornaments and copes; and by them al the young children scholars of the College in their white surplices, bare-headed, holding in the one hand tapers and in the other bookes, saying the seven psalms; and as the corps came by, kneeled and censed it bidding their *de profundis*, and other prayers. And so the corps passed till it came to the town of Windsor."[2]

[1] Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. p. 557.

[2] Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials.*

Rebus of Provost Lupton.

1547—1558.

Bishop Longland—Suppression of Colleges—Sir Thomas Smith—Marriage of the Clergy—Charges against the Head-Master—Inquest on a Scholar—Changes in the Church—Roger Hutchinson—Destruction of Books, etc.—The Marian Reaction—Provost Cole.

JOHN LONGLAND, Bishop of Lincoln, and consequently Visitor of Eton, did not long survive Henry VIII., to whom he had for many years acted as confessor. He died at Woburn in May 1547, and the instructions which he left as to his interment are somewhat curious. By a will dated soon after the accession of Edward VI. he directed that his heart should "be conveyed to Lincoln Churche and there buried afore the most blessed sacrament at the high aulter," but that his body should be buried at Eton "yf it please the Maister and company to licence the same." The exact place in the choir which he selected for his grave was that at which the Epistle was read; from which it is clear that the sub-deacon did not ordinarily go up into the rood-loft at mass. Bishop Longland left five marcs to be distributed among the

"maisters, felowes, mynisters of the queere and scholers" of Eton, and various other small sums to members of the College, and to the bell-ringers. In return for this he stipulated for a dirge, lauds, commendations, and a mass of *requiem*. His most valuable legacy to his College consisted of the Works of Saints Chrysostom, Hilary, Origen, Bernard, and Athanasius, and the Sermons of St Augustine, all of which were to be chained in the library.[1] An epitaph at Eton used to testify to the due performance of at least part of his dying instructions :—

"*Hæc ædes corpus, Woburnia viscera, servat,*
Atque pium Sedes cor Cathedralis habet."

This inscription once formed part of an incised brass, on which Longland was represented in full episcopal costume ;[2] but every trace of this memorial has been destroyed by some act of vandalism within the last two centuries. The Bishop's elaborate chantry in the south choir-aisle at Lincoln has fared better, and still bears the punning inscription :—

Longa terra mensuram ejus Dominus dedit

with the Arms of the King between the fourth and fifth words.

In the first year of Edward VI. an exchange of lands, which had been arranged with Henry VIII., was concluded ; and the College thereby acquired several advowsons and estates, which had formerly been held by the regular clergy.[3] It was part of the adroit policy of the Government to make all classes in the country accept some share of the confiscated property, so as to

[1] Will of Bishop Longland, in the Court of Probate, London : *Alen*, f. 39.

[2] *Rawl MS.* B. 267.

[3] Lipscomb's *History of Bucks*, vol. iv. p. 474.

ensure their opposition, through motives of self-interest, to any scheme for the re-establishment of the monasteries. The very existence of Eton College, however, was again threatened by another Bill for the suppression of all colleges, chantries, and free-chapels. The University of Cambridge was seriously alarmed;[1] but the friends of learning were sufficiently powerful in the House of Commons to carry a clause, specially exempting the two Universities, the Colleges of Winchester and Eton, the Chapels at Newton and at Windsor, and the cathedral churches of the kingdom.[2]

It was soon after the passing of this Act, that Aldrich resigned the Provostship of Eton, in order to devote himself exclusively to his diocesan and parliamentary duties. The Duke of Somerset, who was then supreme, selected his own Master of Requests for the vacant post, and dispatched a letter to the Fellows in the name of the King, requiring them to elect Dr. Thomas Smith:—

"And to thentent that ther myght be no stop nor lett to the same bycause the sayd Thomas is not priste or doctor of divinitie, or otherwyse qualyfyed as your Statutts dothe requyre, we consyderynge his other qualitees thexcellency wherofe so far surmount the defect that this before rehearsyd shold make, have dysspensyd and by these presents do dispense with you and the said Thomas and any other that shall admytt the same with and for all suche thyngs or matters as shold in any wyse stope or lett the same election. Where fore, as our trust is of your gentil conformytie therin, so we do not dought but thaccomplyshment of this oure pleasure you shal have cause to thynke yourselfe furnyshed of such a master or provost as apperteynythe. Geven under our sygnett at our honor of Hampton Court, the xxv. day of Decembre, the fyrst yere of our rayne."[3]

[1] Strype's *Life of Sir T. Smith*, p. 29.

[2] *Statute* 1 Edward VI. c. 4.

[3] *Eton Register*, f. 2.

The Fellows lost no time in obeying the royal mandate, and elected Smith on the 29th of December, 1547, thus setting a precedent which was subsequently followed in the cases of Savile, Murray, and Wotton. It is very doubtful whether Smith was in deacon's orders, as stated by Strype; but shortly after this he accepted the Deanery of Carlisle.[1] Cole, who succeeded him at Eton, could hardly endure the mention of his name, and indignantly described him in the College Register as "*quidam laicus et conjugatus.*" In other respects Smith was well qualified to preside over a seat of learning. At Cambridge he had been distinguished for his scholarship, and he had travelled as far as Italy. In conjunction with Cheke he had introduced a new manner of pronouncing the lately revived Greek language, by making a distinction between the letter ἰῶτα, and the various diphthongs of which it forms part. He was also anxious to reform the English language, but on a converse principle, by adapting the spelling to the pronunciation. With this object he compiled a phonetic alphabet consisting of thirty-four letters, in which, among other innovations, there was a long form as well as a short one for each of the vowels. C was to be abolished except when it was to be sounded like the Greek χ; but the author was hardly consistent when he retained the letter Q. The scheme was doomed to failure, as alterations in a living language can only be effected gradually.

Soon after his election to the Provostship, Smith was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, and received the honour of knighthood.[2] The duties of office naturally called him away from Eton for long periods; but once he was detained in London against his will, being

[1] *Strype's Life of Sir T. Smith*, p. 31. [2] *Ibid.*

compelled to share the temporary confinement of his patron, the Duke of Somerset. There is in the British Museum[1] a small manuscript volume, entitled :

"Certaigne Psalmes or Songues of David, translated into Englishe meter by Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, then Prisoner in the Tower of London, with other prayers and songues by him made to pas the tyme there, 1549."

One of the prayers commences thus :—

"We can not forget o Lord in all our cares and thoughts at this present tyme the wofull estate of this Realme which is outwardly with foreyne enemies assailed and within sore shaken with this eyvil dissencon as well of the comons heretofore as of the nobilitie; thend whereof is only knowen to thee, greatly feared of us even in our great feares. This Realme o Lord shuld be and is a chosen Realme to thee, to which thou hast vouchsaved to give the true knowledge of thi veritie & gospell, first by the late King of most famous memorie, Henrie the eight, & and now more amply by his most swete sonne the King's majistie that now reigneth through the admonicon, advise, and counsell of his loving uncle who is now one of us in perill and danger."

There is some variety in the metres employed in the other portion of the volume, but the quality of the verses is uniformly bad. The following is a very favourable specimen :—

"If I have gone about to hurt any man
Or for to sowe discorde
Than Let them hurt me as thei can
And help me not o Lorde
But if I have alwais sought for peace
And labored discord to remove
Than help me thou, though thei do not cease
To pursue me, for thi Love."

The collection is chiefly interesting as exhibiting the

[1] *King's MS.* 17, A. xvii.

kind of composition to which a man of learning and high position was not ashamed to affix his name. Sir Thomas Smith recovered his liberty after a short imprisonment, but only on disgorging a large sum of public money which he had embezzled.[1] At Eton he was treated with great deference. His predecessors and successors have been styled "Master Provost," or "Mr. Provost," but the Fellows generally styled him simply "our Master."[2]

Several members of the College were not slow to follow the example of Sir Thomas Smith in taking to themselves wives, though it is difficult to see how they could justify so distinct a breach of the Statutes. The dismissal of several Chaplains, who were no longer required for the celebration of solitary masses, may have provided rooms for the reception of women and children, the very thought of whom would have scandalized the pious Founder. Barker, the Master, received a royal licence in 1551, enabling him to retain his post, though he was avowedly married; but such proceedings were regarded with aversion by the severer portion of the community. A married priest was considered capable of almost any enormity, and Barker had already come in for his share of abuse. William Goldwyn wrote to Sir Thomas Smith on the 5th of May, 1549, to explain :—

"Whereas ill reportt hathe byn that the scholmaster shuld be a Disepleyare Cardeare Riatore or Gameare nott applyeng his schole trewlye that Reportt is manifestlye false, for I know he is none of that sortt. I can fynd no faught in hym butt (as I have honestly informed hym) he is sumwhat to gentle and gyvethe his scholears more licence, thane they have byn usid too before tyme, of the wiche thing evill tounges

[1] Froude's *History of England*, vol. v. p. 261.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1550—1551.

mey spred mutche matter and diffame witheoute care of ony good redresse. I trust ther be no suche in our companye."[1]

One of Barker's pupils met with an untimely fate, which led to one of the few inquests that have ever been held within the Liberty of the College. From the account of the proceedings on that occasion, it appears that one of the scholars named Robert Sacheverell was in the "pleyeng lease" about seven in the evening on the 29th of July, 1549, and there went to bathe at "le watring-place" with some of his companions. While in the water he was carried away by the stream to a place known as "le whirlpole," and so disappeared. The jurors therefore pronounced "that water execrable, and the cause of his death; on whose soul may God have mercy."[2]

This last sentence has a Catholic sound, but, in point of fact, the College authorities had followed the successive changes in matters of religion. Sir Thomas Smith had been a supporter of the Reformation from his earliest years, and several of the Fellows shared his views. The changes under Henry VIII. had been chiefly political, but those under Edward VI. extended to the services of the Church. About a month after the election of Smith, the images at the high altar were pulled down and carted away;[3] and the College lost no time in purchasing a book of the Homilies and a copy of the new Communion-book.[4] In 1551 the embroi-

[1] *Domestic State Papers.* Edward VI. Vol. vii. No. 4.

[2] *Eton Register*, vol. ii. f. 42. "Unde dicunt aquam illam execrabilem et causam fuisse mortis illius. Cujus animæ misereatur Deus."

[3] *Eton Bursars' Accounts*, 1547—1548. "Solutum laborantibus circa summum altare in subvertendo et exportando sculptilia vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$" January 25, 154$\frac{7}{8}$.

[4] *Ibid.* "Pro libro homeliarum xvj$^{d.}$ January 5, 154$\frac{7}{8}$." *Ibid.* 1549—1550. "Pro libro cum munionis iij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$"

dered frontals of the other altars were sold, the Provost and such of the Fellows as wanted any, buying them for their own purposes.[1] This confirms a well-known passage in Heylin :—

"Many private persons' parlours were hung with altar cloaths, their tables and beds covered with copes instead of carpets and coverlets ; and many made carousing cups of the sacred chalices, as once Belshazzar celebrated his drunken feast in the sanctified vessels of the Temple. It was a sorry house, and not worth the naming, which had not somewhat of this furniture in it, though it were only a fair large cushion, made of a cope, or altar-cloth, to adorn their windows, or make their chairs to have somewhat in them of a chair of state."[2]

One of the Fellows who purchased some of the frontals was Roger Hutchinson, who deserves a slight notice here. He seems to have been a good patristic scholar for his age, and was in the habit of making Greek quotations in his writings and discourses. He published a work entitled "The Image of God," in 1550, and being afterwards elected a Fellow of Eton, he there delivered three sermons on the Lord's Supper. His views on that Sacrament were decidedly anti-Roman, though not always quite consistent. In one place he uses a local analogy to express his doctrine:—

"The body and blood of Jesus Christ be in His holy supper, as thy house, with thy garden, and other commodities, is in thy lease, which thou hast by the college seal of Eton or of Windsor."[3]

In another passage he distinctly says that "the natures of bread and wine are changed and altered"

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1550—1551. "Received of or. mr. for a frunt and a fruntell of whyte damaske and a redd fruntell iij$^{li.}$ v$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$" &c.

[2] *History of the Reformation.*

[3] *Hutchinson's Works* (*Parker Society*), p. 251.

after the consecration.[1] Hutchinson did not indulge in such scurrilous language respecting his adversaries as many writers of his party; but he knew how to rebuke the prevalent vices of the day :—

"Men be ready one to eat another for possessions, commodities, and offices. The rich oppress the commons, and hold them under in poverty and misery. The clergy and spiritualty are wronged and oppressed; their tithes are grudged and withholden. Noble benefactors, which did build houses and endow them with lands for the good education of youth, for the reward of learning, and that this realm should be furnished with godly and learned preachers, are slandered as superstitious and popish founders. It shall be better with the heathen at the day of judgment than with us; for they honoured their benefactors, we deprave and deface them, and accuse them of superstition and folly."[2]

Elsewhere he quaintly warns the unworthy not to approach the Holy Table :—

"Be afraid, if thou, being an officer or magistrate, dost devise evil statutes, either ecclesiastical or temporal, contrary to the statutes of the eternal God; or if thou dost make unlawful grants, and give dispensations, licenses, and cockets, to carry wool, leather, corn, or other wares over the sea; empoverishing many thousands to enrich thyself and a few others. Be afraid, if thou be a tailor, and dost steal part of their cloth (which cost them dear) from thy customers, making them believe that no less than three yards will serve their turn, when two yards be sufficient. Be afraid to come if thou keep a draper's or an haberdasher's or poticary's shop, and dost oppress thy brethren by taking immoderate and unreasonable gains; if thou be a husbandman, and wilt not store markets and fairs, neither with grain, nor with cattle which is thy vocation and calling; if thou be a butcher, and wilt not sell thy beeves, muttons, and veals, at the king's

[1] *Hutchinson's Works* (*Parker Society*) p. 277.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 309.

price, or for reasonable vantage, but killest them without effusion and letting forth the blood, that they may weigh more, to the poisoning of the eaters; if thou be a baker, and dost break the king's assize and statute, hurting many to benefit thyself; if thou be a person, having cure of soul, and yet dost live idly; and dost not only not preach thyself, but also when others preach to thy parishioners, thou defacest them behind their backs, and dost discredit them as much as lieth in thee; (as I know one was defaced not long ago, which preached wholesome and fruitful doctrine, even in this place)."[1]

Hutchinson took part, as a Fellow, in suppressing the observance of seven of the festivals appointed by the Founder. Extra commons had hitherto been allowed on twenty-five days of the year, but, after the autumn of 1551, the College authorities utterly ignored the Feasts of the Death and Translation of Thomas Becket, of Corpus Christi, of Relics, of the Nativity and Assumption of the Virgin, and of the Dedication of the Collegiate Church.[2]

The Reformers also turned their attention to the library, and set five men to work there for six days in 1548.[3] It is not clear whether the "purifying" then attempted was moral or material—whether it was intended to get rid of "superstitious" books, or merely of the spiders. At any rate, some of the books were sold a few years later to a dealer at Cambridge.[4] Perhaps the Provost and Fellows were really afraid of the penalties of an Act of Parliament, then recent, under which the collectors of old missals, breviaries, &c., are

[1] *Hutchinson's Works* (*Parker Society*) pp. 223—224.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1550—1551. The money for all the festivals was allowed at the Audit, but those mentioned above were afterwards cancelled in ink.

[3] *Eton Bursars' Accounts*, 1548—1549. "Circa bibliothecam novam purgandam."

[4] *Eton Audit Book*, 1550—1551. "Received of John Pother bokebinder of Cambridge for certeine boks in the librarye xl$^{s.}$"

said still to be liable to fine and imprisonment.[1] They cannot have had much perception of what books really were superstitious, if we may judge by the only MS. we have seen which was then turned out of the library. It is a copy of the Bible![2]

An attempt was made at this period to change the formal designation of the College, by inserting a mention of the Fellows, and by omitting the name of the Blessed Mary as Patroness; but a lease granted in the name "*Præpositi et Sociorum Collegii Regalis de Eton*," was declared void by all the judges in the next reign;[3] and served as a warning to the Puritans a hundred years later.

The few alterations that were made in the fabric of the College in the reign of Edward VI. were chiefly designed to promote the comfort of the Provost. Sir Thomas Smith evidently found the company of his wife more agreeable than that of the Fellows, and took to having his meals at his "lodging" instead of in the hall. A new kitchen and cellar were accordingly built for his exclusive use, and the sum of 100*l.* was yearly allowed to him for his diet. In addition to his cook, this Provost used to keep one "gentleman," two valets, and three grooms. The College used to maintain his stable at a cost of about 60*l.* a year.[4] He seems to have lived in grand style, and we are expressly told that "he used to wear goodly apparel, and went like a courtier."[5]

[1] *Statute* 3 and 4 Edward VI. cap. 10.

[2] This MS. Vulgate is in the British Museum, *Titus A.* xxii. It was given to the Eton Library by Provost Lupton; but passed into the collection of Sir Robert Cotton in or before 1596.

[3] Dyer's *Reports*, p. 150, a. Trinity Term, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary.

[4] *Eton Bursars' Accounts*, and *Audit Books*, 1547—1551. "Our masters new seller," etc.

[5] Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 32.

An incidental mention of the Master's chamber in one of the Audit Books at this date shows that it must have been situated at the end of the Long Chamber.[1] Another curious entry records the payment of 53*s.* "to Matthew Bargman and ten others watching the Colledge when theves shuld have robbyd it."[2]

The latter may have had designs upon the buttery, for an inventory taken in December 1550, shows that the Church would not have yielded a rich booty. Most of the ornaments must have been confiscated ere this, for the list only specifies five patens and chalices (probably one set for each of the altars), a pair of candlesticks, two censers, a chrismatory, a pix, and four staves for the rulers of the choir, in all less than 300 ounces of silver. But when the views of the foreign Reformers obtained more general acceptance, even this diminished number of church ornaments was considered superfluous, and was "exchaunged at the commaundment of the king's cownsell as appeareth by the lettre subscribed with ther hands A°. Edwardi VI^ti^. 7°. And with that was bought and provided plate for the buttarie," viz.: various silver wine-pots, jugs, and bowls. One chalice alone was retained for use.

The College of Eton had been included in the scope of the Commission which was appointed in November, 1548, to visit the University of Cambridge;[3] but Provost Smith, who was one of the Commissioners, seems to have persuaded his colleagues that they need not interfere with him in his own province. In 1552, however, five members of the Commission—the Lord

[1] 1552—1553. "Paide to John Fendall for workinge abowte comynge owt of the Scholem^rs^. chambr into the Childes Chamber or 1 day & di after x^d^. ye. day & vij^d^. his servaunte ij^s^. j^d^."

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Domestic State Papers.* Edward VI. Vol. v. No. 13.

Chancellor, Bishop Ridley, Sir John Cheke, Dr. May, and Dr. Wendy, were ordered to proceed to Eton without delay. They arrived there on the 14th of May, when "Mr. Riley the Vice Provost appeared. Hurland the Usher, and Avise, a Fellow, were warned to appear; and Fawding, one of the Fellows, was committed to the Fleet for lewd words."[1] Affairs cannot have gone on very smoothly after this, for in the next year Edward VI. recorded in his own journal under the date of the 26th of September:—

"The Duke of Northomberland, the marques of Northampton, the lord chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Petre, and Mr. Secretary Cicel ended a matter at Eton college between the Master and the fellows; and also took order for the amendment of certain superstitious statutes."[2]

The only allusion to these proceedings, among the Eton records, is to be found in the Audit Book, which notices the expense incurred when the "*Dux Northumbriæ cum aliis*" dined in the hall.

Less than a year after this date, Mary was securely established on the throne of England, and the Duke of Northumberland had paid the penalty of treason with his head. The Provost and Fellows would not have been so ready to dispose of their

> "Crosses, relics, crucifixes,
> Beads, pictures, rosaries, and pixes,"[3]

if they could have foreseen the reaction which set in upon the death of Edward VI. They must have found themselves in a difficult position; but they tried to escape notice by complying with the revived ceremonial. Two months after the accession of Mary,

[1] Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. part 2, p. 9.

[2] Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (ed. Pocock), vol. v. p. 85.

[3] Butler's *Hudibras*.

the high altar was set up or repaired,[1] and a little later, the holy-water stoup was replaced in its old position near the door.[2] The English texts which the Reformers had caused to be painted on the walls of the Church were also effaced.[3] Before any further changes could be carried out, the married Fellows were expelled for their breach of the Statutes, and members of the opposite party were substituted for them. Three new Fellows were admitted on one day;[4] but even after this, opinions were so evenly divided in the College, that it was found impossible to fill up a vacant place by the ordinary process of election, and the right of nomination was allowed to lapse to the Bishop of Lincoln.

Sir Thomas Smith found it prudent to resign the Provostship in July 1554, possibly in consequence of a journey undertaken by one of the Fellows "to Wynchest to the Bishope of Lincole our visito^r^ for the resolution of certeyne doubts in o^r^ founders statuts."[5] A few days before Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain we find the same Fellow, Pauley, "ridinge to Farnam to exhibit a supplication to the Quenes ma^tie^ for election accordinge to o^r^ founders wyll and ordinaces."[6] This latter mission must have proved fruitless, as Henry Cole seems to have been nominated by the Queen to succeed Smith. At any rate he was successively elected Fellow and Provost on one day, in spite of the adverse votes of a minority of the Fellows.[7] Sir Thomas Smith is said to have been allowed 100*l.* a year in compensation for the loss of the Deanery of

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1552—1553. September.
[2] *Ibid.* 1553—1554.
[3] *Ibid.* "For blotting out the Scripture on the Chirche walles."
[4] March 2, 1554.
[5] *Eton Audit Book*, June to September 1554.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Eton Register*, vol. ii.

Carlisle and the Provostship of Eton;[1] and the College Accounts mention a payment to him of 50*l.* "for the lease of Cottesforde," which had been granted to his brother John Smith.[2]

Henry Cole, the new Provost, was a man of considerable note among the members of his own party. He had been educated on Wykeham's foundations, and during the reign of Henry VIII., had held several ecclesiastical preferments, of which the most important was the Wardenship of New College. In the next reign he is said to have professed himself a follower of Peter Martyr, and has thereby incurred the accusation of being a mere time-server. It appears, on the contrary, that he resigned all his places before the death of Edward VI., finding it impossible to keep pace with the violent changes in matters of religion. His zeal and learning fully entitled him to the favour which Queen Mary showed him.[3]

Under Cole's direction the Church at Eton was, as far as possible, restored to its former condition. The side-altars were again set up, and the College barber was directed to clean the painted walls of the choir, and to decorate Lupton's Chapel.[4] The re-introduction

[1] Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith.*

[2] *Eton Audit Book* and *Lease Book.*

[3] See references quoted in Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* vol. i. p. 419.

[4] *Eton Audit Book*, June to September 1554. "Payde to Thomson the brecke layere for trymminge the ij lowe aulters place xviij$^{d.}$" "To John Barboure for peyntinge Doctor. Luptons Chappell & ye Clocke diall iij$^{s.}$" "It to John Barbore for wasshing the Churche walles iiij$^{s.}$" *Ibid.* 1556—1557. "Item to the Turner of Windesor for making of two altares, for mendinge the stalls, and clock, and for two rooles for the clock iij$^{s.}$" "For Iron and Ironworke abowte the Roode xij$^{s.}$ Item for iiij ells of bokeram to hange before the Roode and the payntinge iij$^{s.}$ Item to Blunte Tyler making the hye altar and mendinge other altares iiij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$"

of the Sarum rites involved the purchase of various books—*Kyries*, *Alleluias*, and *Sequences*, as well as of chrismatories, bells, and chalices.[1] "An image of our Ladie of Assumption" cost 3*l.*;[2] and a magnificent suit of white damask vestments embroidered with the same subject, and with lilies emblematical of the Virgin and of Eton, cost no less than 9*l.*[3] In one instance, at least, restitution was made by Sir Thomas Smith, who sent his servants to the College "bringinge a clothe of tyssew from Ankerwyk."[4] The ex-Provost may have taken it away for his own private chapel, where as late as eleven years after the accession of Elizabeth he kept a chasuble and alb for the use of the chaplain.[5]

It was during the short period of the revival of the old services that a certain Thomas Lewin, Alderman of London, bequeathed to the College the reversion of an estate at Cippenham, which still bears his name. He stipulated that an obit should for ever be kept for him and some of his relations in the Church of Burnham, that the College should yearly pay 3*s.* 4*d.* to the Churchwardens "to have masse before the image of Jesu there," 10*s.* to priests, clerks, and bell-ringers, and also 6*s.* 8*d.* in alms to the poor on Good Friday. Failing the performance of these conditions the property was to lapse to the Company of Ironmongers, of which the testator was a member.[6] Lewin died in 1555, and the distribution of spiced-bread, wine, etc., at his elaborate funeral in London has been duly chronicled by a fellow-citizen.[7] The widow sur-

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1553—1534.
[2] *Ibid.* 1557—1558.
[3] *Ibid.* June to Sept. 1554.
[4] *Ibid.* 1555—1556.
[5] Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 171.
[6] *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 313.
[7] *Machyn's Diary* (*Camden*

vived till 1562, by which date the College had become released by law from any obligation to say masses; but the preacher at Burnham on Good Friday, to this day receives 3*s.* 4*d.* for himself, and distributes 16*s.* 8*d.* among the poor of the parish.

In 1556 Provost Cole was selected to deliver a sermon at Oxford immediately before the execution of Cranmer. The memorable scene at St. Mary's—the preacher's exhortation to the supposed penitent, the Archbishop's solemn prayer, and unexpected withdrawal of his recantations—has for three centuries been a favourite theme with historians, and needs no description here. Cole conducted himself on the occasion so much to the satisfaction of his patrons, that he was successively appointed Dean of St. Paul's, Vicar General to Cardinal Pole, and Dean of the Court of Arches. He was afterwards sent to Ireland, with ample powers for the suppression of heresy; but, while he was staying with the Mayor of Chester on the way to his new duties, his hostess, a staunch Protestant, contrived to abstract his credentials. Soon after his arrival in Dublin, Cole, not suspecting any trick, tendered to the Irish officials the leathern case in which he had placed the all-important documents; we may imagine his consternation at finding that when opened, it contained nothing but a pack of cards with a *knave* uppermost! The Lord Deputy said quietly, "Let us have another commission, and we will meanwhile shuffle the cards." Cole hurried back to England, but before he could return invested with proper authority, he heard of the death of Queen Mary, and of his special patron—Cardinal Pole.[1]

Society), pages 91, 294, 344, 392.

[1] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* vol. i. pp. 417—419.

ETON LIFE

IN THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

WE must here make a pause in the narrative of events at Eton, in order to examine, more minutely than has hitherto been possible, the system of education which was formerly pursued in the School. For such a survey various incidental notices in the old Audit Books and elsewhere would indeed furnish a certain amount of information concerning almost any period; but on reaching the middle of the sixteenth century we meet with a regular *Consuetudinarium*, or description of the customs which then prevailed. This curious document is preserved, next to a transcript of the Eton Bursars' Accounts for the year ending at Michaelmas 1560, among the manuscripts given to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Archbishop Parker. There can be little doubt that both papers were prepared for, and given to, the Royal Commissioners who visited Eton in 1561; and the former, which alone concerns us here, bears on its fly-leaf the

name of Malim, who was then Head Master. The *Consuetudinarium* consists of two parts, the first of which treats of all special and exceptional customs observed at different times of the year, while the second sets forth the daily routine of school life.[1] Before describing the latter, we may premise that Malim's book is written in Latin prose, in some places so redundant, in others so curt, as to render a literal translation as undesirable as it would be tedious. In point of literary style, it falls far below the lively account of Winchester, written a few years earlier, by Christopher Johnson;[2] but a comparison of the contents of the two documents is interesting. We also add a few notes from other sources by way of elucidation.

First we may remark that there were formerly seven forms, of which the first three composed the Lower School. The fourth form occupied an intermediate position, belonging ordinarily to the Upper School, but being under the jurisdiction of the Usher for two hours in the day. No mention is made of any Assistant-Masters;[3] and in order to obviate any defect on this score, recourse was had to the monitorial system. Eighteen of the senior boys were styled *Præpositi*;[4] but inasmuch as the same term was used to designate the head of the College, the monitors soon came to be called *Præpositores*. Under the contracted

[1] The whole document has been printed in Creasy's *Eminent Etonians*, pp. 77—84, and the first part of it in Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, etc. pp. 626—633; but, in both cases, only from Baker's transcript in the British Museum, which omits the name of Malim.

[2] Printed for the first time by Bishop Wordsworth, in *The College of St. Mary Winton*, pp. 7—21.

[3] The *Magistri* mentioned were evidently the Fellows.

[4] So at Winchester:—

"Præfecti octodecim seniores rite vocantur;
Exemplo monituque scholæ moderamina servant."

form of *Præpostor*, the name has survived to our own time, though the duties of the office, as well as the qualifications for it, have entirely changed. Four of these eighteen præpostors were employed in the schoolroom, and had to report all absentees; four exercised authority in the dormitory, four in the Playing Fields,[1] two in the Church, and one in the hall;[2] two were responsible for the Commensals (whom Malim styles *Oppidani*[3]); while the duty of the eighteenth was to enforce cleanliness among the boys.[4] The only other distinctive title in use in the school was that of *Custos* (or dunce), which was applied to any boy who was detected talking in English during lesson time, missing three words in repeating a rule in grammar, or making three mistakes in spelling. There was a *custos* to each form, and he always had to be the first to repeat the lessons and to answer questions.[5]

[1] From an account of the Grammar School at Saffron Walden in Essex drawn up in the reign of Henry VIII., when Richard Cox, an Etonian, was Master, it appears that there too there were "Prepositores in the field whan they play, for fyghtyng, rent-clothes, blew eyes, or siche like." *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 38.

[2] The old *Eton Audit Books* show that 1*s.* used to be paid every term "to the præpositor of the Haule for wryting the commons boke." The payment on this score in 1860 was 6*s.*

[3] The earliest application of this term to the scholars of independent means that we have met with is in the *Eton Audit Book*, 1557—1558, where there is a charge "for two newe chandlestycks for the opydans in the Churche ij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$"

[4] At Westminster there were two *Monitores immundorum* in the seventeenth century.

At Saffron Walden, in Cox's time there were "Prepositores for yll kept hedys, unwasshed facys, fowle clothis, and sich other." *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 38.

[5] *Ibid.* The name *custos* was also used with the same signification at Saffron Walden. In Ducange's *Glossarium*, however, it is never quoted as a term of reproach. The peculiar signification which it bore in English schools seems to have been founded on an analogy between the duties of the *custos chori* who began the singing in Church, and those of the boy who began the repetition in school.

The principal difference between the arrangements at Winchester and those at Eton, consisted in the number of dormitories provided for the Scholars on the foundation. At the former place there were six,[1] while at the latter there was but one—the Long Chamber.

Like the boys on Wykeham's foundation,[2] the Eton Scholars rose early, being awakened at five by one of the præpostors, who thundered forth "*Surgite.*" While dressing they chanted prayers, probably consisting of Latin psalms, in alternate verses. Each boy had to make his own bed, and to sweep the dust from under it into the middle of the Long Chamber, whence it was removed by four juniors selected for the purpose by the præpostors. All then went downstairs two and two to wash—doubtless at the "children's pump" mentioned in the Audit Books. There was no morning service for the boys in the Church, as there was at Winchester; so, their ablutions ended, they proceeded at once to their respective places in the schoolroom. The Usher came in at six, and, kneeling at the upper end of the room, read prayers. While he was engaged in teaching the lower forms, one of the præpostors made a list of those who were late for prayers, while the *Præpostor Immundanorum* had to examine the faces and hands of his schoolfellows in order to report any who appeared dirty, to the Head-Master on his entry at seven o'clock. Work of various kinds was carried on until after nine, when there was a short

[1] "Sex cameræ pueris signantur et una choristis"

[2] "'Surgite'" Præfectus clamat;
'Num stertitis? ohe
Jam campana sonat; vos surgite, surgite pigri.'
Surgendum est; vestes, caligæ, soliæque petuntur
In classem properant; et si campana taceret,
Discincti inciperent psalmum cantare Latinum.
Postea sint versæ cameræ, pexique capilli,
Sternuntor lecti; facies sit lota manusque."

LONG CHAMBER, A.D. 1844.

interval, possibly for breakfast, as at Winchester, though Malim makes no allusion to any such meal. At ten o'clock one of the præpostors shouted "*Ad preces consurgite*," to recall the boys to school, where, standing in order on either side of the room, they had to recite further prayers.

Dinner was served at eleven o'clock, and the boys marched to the hall and back in double file. The work in school began again at mid-day, and lasted continuously till three. The afternoon play-time ended at four, and was followed by another hour of lessons. At five the boys again left the school in procession, apparently for supper.[1]

The duties of the Master and Usher were now ended for the day, as the work between six and eight was carried on under the superintendence of monitors chosen from among the members of the seventh form. There was a slight break at seven o'clock for another meal, which probably consisted only of a draught of beer and a slice of bread.[2] At eight the boys went to bed chanting prayers.

Such was the ordinary routine of the first four working days of the week, but, as we shall see, more time was allowed for recreation in the summer months. Friday was at this time observed as a fast-day throughout England. At Eton, as at Winchester,[3]

[1] This was certainly the hour of supper at Winchester, though dinner was served there nearly an hour later than at Eton.

[2] "Potum dimittuntur."

[3] "Proh! dolor, heu! Veneris lux sanguinolenta propinquat;
Sanguineamque voco, nam si peccaveris hujus
Hebdomadæ spatio, pœnas patiere cruentas;
Flecte genu, puerique duo, qui rite vocantur,
Demittent ligulas, manibusque ligamina solvent."
Friday was also the day for "accusations" at Westminster. *The Public Schools* [by W. L. Collins], p. 94.

it must have been doubly unpleasant, for all the offences committed during the past week were then enumerated, and the culprits were punished. On Friday and Saturday the boys were examined in what they had learned during the week, and on the latter day speeches were occasionally delivered. No mention whatever is made of Sunday.

From Malim's account of the work done in the school, it is clear that Latin was almost the only subject of study, and that no means of inculcating a sound knowledge of it was neglected. The lower boys had to decline and conjugate words, and their seniors had to repeat rules of grammar, for the illustration of which short phrases called "*Vulgaria*" were composed and committed to memory. Some sort of Latin composition, however brief, was a necessary portion of the daily work of every Eton scholar. In the lower forms it was confined to the literal translation of an English sentence or passage, while in the fifth form it consisted of a theme on a subject set by the Master. The boys in the sixth and seventh forms used to write verses. No "*Gradus ad Parnassum*" then existed, to assist the would-be poets in finding suitable words for their compositions, so they had to rely on the contents of their own MS. note-books for "flowers, phrases, or idioms of speech, antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, anecdotes, descriptions of times, places, and persons, fables, *bon-mots*, figures, and apothegms." The Master and Usher used to read aloud and explain to the boys the passages which were to be learnt by heart. The books studied in the School were :—

In the first form, Cato, and Vives.

In the second, Terence, Lucian's Dialogues (in Latin), and Æsop's Fables (in Latin).

In the third, Terence, Æsop's Fables (in Latin), and Selections by Sturmius from Cicero's Epistles.

In the fourth, Terence, Ovid's *Tristia*, and the Epigrams of Martial, Catullus, and Sir Thomas More.

In the fifth, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Horace, Cicero's Epistles, Valerius Maximus, Lucius Florus, Justin, and "Sysembrotus."

In the sixth and seventh, Cæsar's Commentaries, Cicero *de Officiis*, and *de Amicitia*, Virgil, Lucan and the Greek Grammar.

We may now turn to the other portion of Malim's *Consuetudinarium*.

The beginning of the year three centuries ago, found the School enjoying the winter holidays; but, as we shall see later, in our account of the month of December, these holidays were of a kind that would not at all suit the ideas of Etonians of our own day, inasmuch as the boys were not allowed to go home, or even to idle at Eton. On the 1st of January they played for "little new year's gifts,"[1] in the afternoon and evening, and "for the sake of good luck,"[2] they wrote verses either for presentation to their teachers, or for circulation among themselves. The kindly interchange of gifts has disappeared long ago, but a trace of the verses survived until three or four years ago, under the name of the *Calendæ* copy, in which the Captain of the School recounted the principal events of the past year. Several of these latter compositions have received places in the "*Musæ Etonenses*" as favourable specimens of Latin scholarship; and it

[1] "Pro *strenulis*," equivalent to the French *étrennes*.

[2] "*Ominis boni gratia*." Malim evidently had the Grammar of Festus before him, where this expression is used to reconcile the two senses of the word *strena*—"Strenam vocamus, quæ datur die religioso, ominis boni gratia."

is difficult to find any adequate cause for the abolition of so ancient and interesting a practice. The corresponding verses at Westminster are still annually printed at full length in the newspapers.

In the sixteenth century the Feast of the Epiphany brought the Eton holidays to a close, and the ordinary routine was resumed on the following day. On the 13th of January the College celebrated the exequies of its great benefactor William of Waynflete, some sort of services for the dead being still in vogue in the earlier years of Elizabeth. Each boy received twopence on this day, apparently from the fund provided by Provost Bost. Malim's account of the last special ceremony in the month of January is one of the most interesting portions of his *Consuetudinarium*, for it contains the earliest notice of the famous Eton procession *ad montem*. We propose to devote a future chapter to this unique institution, and shall therefore omit any further mention of it in this place. The Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin was of course a holiday; and the school work was again suspended on the 7th of February for the exequies of Provost Bost. The boys had a half-holiday on the following day, after the conclusion of the services for the dead.

On Shrove Monday, Malim made his pupils write verses in praise or in condemnation of Father Bacchus, the special patron of poets. The compositions of the boys in the seventh, sixth, and upper fifth forms, were hung up on the inner doors of the College. The name *Bacchus* continued to be given to copies of verses made at this season, until the present century, though their original subject soon proved to be too monotonous or too immoral for annual discussion. Samuel Pepys, who visited Eton in 1665, the year of the great Plague of

London, relates how he went "to the hall and there find the boys [writing] verses *de Peste*, it being their custom to make verses at Shrovetide. I read several and very good they were, better I think than ever I made when I was a boy, and in rolls as long or longer than the whole hall by much."[1] In later times long *Bacchus* copies of Latin hexameters used to be suspended by coloured ribands in the College hall. One of these rolls, written by Porson, was presented by the late Mrs. Keate to the boys' library, where it still hangs. The Marquis of Wellesley, writing in 1845, expressed his regret that *Bacchus* verses had been abolished since his schooldays.[2]

No work was done on Shrove Tuesday after 8 A.M., and at Eton as elsewhere, the practice prevailed of tormenting some live bird on this day. The College cook stole away a crow from its nest, and fastening to it a pancake, hung it up on the School door, while the boys exulted in the shrill cries of the deserted fledgelings. At other English schools a cock was generally selected as the victim. Cock-fighting, and the custom of throwing sticks at cocks at this season, can be traced back to an early date, and down to the end of the eighteenth century. Even in the time of Charles II., Sir Charles Sedley was not ashamed to bid a cock

> "be punished for St. Peter's crime
> And on Shrove Tuesday perish in thy prime."

Well might a sarcastic foreigner say, that after eating pancakes the English "immediately go mad and kill their cocks."[3]

It is to be feared that cruelty to animals was not

[1] *Diary*, February 26, 1665.
[2] *Primitiæ et Reliquiæ.*
[3] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 61—71.

reckoned among the sins for which penitents desired to be shriven, before the beginning of Lent, in the time of Elizabeth. Malim's notice of Ash-Wednesday is curious, inasmuch as after describing the observances of the day, he crossed his pen several times through the whole passage, to show that some change had just been introduced. It is accordingly omitted in both the printed versions of the *Consuetudinarium;* but it certainly deserves some notice. It appears from this that all the boys—Oppidans as well as Collegers—went to Church at ten o'clock, and there chose confessors from among the Fellows and Chaplains, "for confession is a wholesome medicine for the sinner." The names of those who received absolution were inscribed on tablets, and the next four days were devoted to penitential exercises.[1] On the 27th of February were celebrated the exequies of Provost Lupton. The boys received a penny a piece, and played from dinner to bed-time. Lady-Day only ranked as a "minor double" in the church calendar, but the Master was allowed to declare it a holyday at Eton, because the College was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

On the Wednesday before Easter the regular school routine was discontinued at nine o'clock. The younger boys received writing lessons, while the more skilful ones drew figures for the others to copy. About four o'clock in the afternoon they all attended a service in the Church, probably based upon the ancient *Tenebræ.*

[1] "Cinerico die itur ad templum a pueris circiter horam decimam, tempore Sacri peragendi deligunt sibi tum Collegiani tum Oppidani ex Magistris vel Sacellanis spectatæ integritatis Sacerdotes quibus arcana pectoris credant, et, quod erranti salutaris sit medicina confessio, ad Dominum confugiunt. Puerorum nomina Censores Templi conscripta rotulis confessionariis tradunt. Intra quatuor dies proxime sequentes peccatorum confessione peccata expiant."

On Maundy Thursday the Master selected such of the scholars as appeared most fit to partake of the Blessed Sacrament. Those who had communicated feasted together sumptuously,[1] and after dinner usually obtained leave to take a walk in the country, on promising not to enter any wine shops or ale taverns. All the scholars played that day from dinner to bed-time.

On Good Friday the boys had a writing-lesson, and then went to Church for matins at nine o'clock. After dinner the Master came to the school-room about one o'clock, and there delivered a lengthy address,[2] explaining the nature of the Blessed Eucharist, "how it should be received, by whom it may be received worthily, by whom unworthily." At four o'clock the boys went to Church again, and afterwards played. During this playtime the Master settled who should communicate on the following day. On Easter Eve the writing-lesson lasted from 7 to 8 A.M., after which the boys went to Church. They were allowed to play from dinner-time till evensong, but went to bed at seven, "for they *used* to rise at the third vigil commemorating the exceeding glory of the death and resurrection of the Lord with most grateful memory. Here, while the custom lasted, three or four of the elder scholars were selected by the Master at the request of the Sacristan (?) to watch the Sepulchre with lighted candles and torches (*cereis*) according to custom (*pro cæremonia*) lest the Jews should steal the Lord, or

[1] The College used to give another entertainment on this day, for we find a payment "pro collatione facta choro et parochianis in cæna Domini," in the *Audit Book*, 1528—1529, and similar entries in other years.

[2] "Unam horam [aut alteram] bene terit." The words in the bracket are omitted in the printed versions.

rather lest misfortune should occur from any neglect in watching the lights."[1]

The boys had writing-lessons every day in Easter-week, but were allowed to play after dinner on holy days, and after supper on ordinary days. The regular school routine was resumed on the second Monday after Easter.

On the Feast of St. Philip and St. James, if the weather was fine, some of the boys rose at four

> "to do observance to a morn of May."[2]

> "For May wol have no slogardie a-night;
> The seson priketh every gentil herte,
> And maketh him out of his slepe to sterte."[3]

Having been cautioned by the Head-Master against getting their feet wet, they went out into the country, to pick branches of *may*, wherewith they decorated the windows of their dormitory.

> "Devotion gives each house a bough,
> Or branch; each porch, each doore, ere this,
> An arke, a tabernacle is
> Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove."[4]

The later practice of decorating Long Chamber at

[1] According to the Use of Sarum a pix containing one of the three Hosts consecrated on Maundy Thursday was kept in the sepulchre together with a crucifix for three days. It was removed to the High Altar on the morning of Easter Day, after which the choir sang "The Lord is risen," etc. In some churches the sepulchre was a solid structure; in others it was movable. The *Eton Audit Rolls* contain the following entries: 1479—1480. "Et iij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$ solutis Thomæ Halle pro certis instrumentis ferreis ponderantibus xl$^{li.}$ pro sepulchro Domini erga diem Parasceve." "Et ij$^{s.}$ solutis Simoni Forte operanti in ecclesia per iij dies erga festum Paschæ circa sepulchrum Domini, et factura fontis in navi ecclesiæ," and other similar entries in 1482—1483.

[2] *Midsummer Night's Dream*, A. 1, sc. 1.

[3] Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, l. 1044.

[4] Herrick's *Hesperides*.

Election-tide with green boughs from the College woods at Hedgerley was probably derived from this old May Day custom. It was only discontinued when the Long Chamber was subdivided. English compositions in prose or verse—interlarded with quotations from the Roman poets—were written by the boys at this season to celebrate the "flowery sweetness of the spring-time."

The Feast of St. John *ante Portam Latinam* fell upon the 6th of May, and from that day forth the hours of work were considerably relaxed. The boys were allowed to take a siesta in the school-room after dinner, and were only aroused in time for *Bever*[1] at three o'clock. An additional play-hour was also allowed in the evening from seven to eight o'clock. A Latin adage describes the pleasures of the season :—

Porta Latina pilum, pulvinar, pocula præstat.

On the 21st of May were celebrated the exequies of Henry VI., and the boys received twopence apiece. The only real vacation in the year began on Ascension Day, when those who were "carried away by the desire of visiting their parents or friends," received permission to leave Eton. Before dismissing the boys, the Master exhorted them to behave themselves properly, so as not to bring any discredit on their school or their teacher. The holidays lasted three weeks, ending on the eve of the Feast of Corpus Christi. Any boys who failed to return by bed-time that day, received a flogging, while any who absented themselves beyond the next day, were deprived of their scholarships.

[1] *Bever* is still maintained at Eton for the King's Scholars in summer. The term, which is obviously derived from *bevere* and *bibere*, is also in use at Winchester, Westminster, and the Charter House.

On the eve of Midsummer Day, in the reign of Henry VIII., the Eton boys used annually to decorate their bedsteads with pictures, and with copies of verses relating to episodes in the life of St. John the Baptist. They were allowed to sit up till nine o'clock that evening, and to lie in bed till six o'clock the next morning. Soon after matins on the 24th, they used to raise a bonfire near the east end of the Church,[1] and stand in order round it while the members of the choir sang three antiphons. The Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, five days later, used to be observed with similar ceremonies; and the bonfire was once more lighted on the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (July 7). These peculiar customs had been abolished shortly before the date at which Malim wrote. The Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (July 2) and the Feast of Relics were still kept as holydays.

The notices of the days of election to Eton and to King's College were duly affixed to the College gates seven weeks beforehand, as ordered in the Statutes. The elections took place near the end of July, and the Provost and Posers from Cambridge were expected to attend the exequies of Robert Rede, which were celebrated at that time. The boys did no work after dinner on five days during the week of election. The Feast of the Assumption, once the most solemn day in the year at Eton, was a whole holiday in the reign of Elizabeth, and on the previous day no lessons were done after evensong. The anniversary of the behead-

[1] In other parts of England, and indeed of Europe generally, it was customary to light the midsummer bonfire on the eve of the Festival, instead of on the day itself. Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 238—268.

ing of St. John the Baptist (August 29) was considered the last day of summer, and was usually allowed as a whole holiday at the request of the College steward. On this day the boys enjoyed their siesta, their bever, and their evening play-hour for the last time.

The ancient observance of the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin had been abolished shortly before the date of the *Consuetudinarium*. "On a certain day" in September the boys went out nutting in the same order in which they had marched *ad montem* in January. On their return, they offered some of their spoils to the Master, in proof of their gratitude for the day's enjoyment, and some to the Fellows. Before obtaining leave for the expedition, however, they had to exert themselves to the utmost in writing verses in praise of the "apple-bearing autumn," and in mournful deprecation of the "deadly cold" of the approaching season. We may believe that the unfortunate boys wrote with feeling, as they must have suffered bitterly in the dark winter mornings. "Thus learning from their childhood the vicissitude of all things, they 'leave their nuts' (*nuces*), as the proverb has it, *i.e.*, laying aside the pursuits and trifles (*nugis*) of childhood, they turn to graver and more serious subjects." Malim does not give the exact day of the nutting expedition, but judging by analogy, we may set it down as the 14th of September :—

> "This day, they say, is called Holy-Rood Day,
> And all the youth are now a nutting gone." [1]

On all the holy days between the Feast of the Translation of King Edward (October 13) and Easter, the boys had to rise at four, in order to receive religious instruction before beginning the ordinary lessons of the

[1] Old play quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 280.

day. The Feast of All Saints was a holy day; and on the following morning the boys went to church in their surplices at seven o'clock to celebrate the Feast of All Souls. After dinner they went to the school-room, and there repeated prayers for the dead, read aloud mournful passages selected by the master, and wrote verses about "the glory of the resurrection, the blessedness of souls, and the hope of immortality." Having devoted so many hours to the contemplation of these grave subjects, they were allowed to amuse themselves as they liked from three o'clock till bed-time.

It was once the custom at Eton to choose a Bishop of Nothingness (*Episcopus Nihilensis*) from among the boys, on the Feast of St. Hugh; but the custom had been abolished before the date at which Malim wrote. It is curious to observe that this day does not tally with that specified by Henry VI. for the election of the Boy-Bishop. The Statute expressly mentions the Feast of St. Nicholas, "on which, and not by any means on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, we allow divine service (except the sacred portions of the mass) to be performed and said by a Boy-Bishop of the scholars, to be chosen from among them yearly for the purpose."[1] Brand has therefore conjectured that *two* Boy-Bishops were annually elected at Eton—on the 13th of November, and on the 6th of December respectively. In other collegiate and cathedral churches the authority of these mock-prelates used to be absolute from the latter date to Childermas or Holy Innocents' Day. The young bishop and his assistants were generally styled "Nicholas and his Clerks," and were dressed exactly like the clergy whose duties they parodied. We have direct evidence of this at Eton in the mention of a

[1] *Statute* xxxi.

Rochet for the Boy-Bishop in old documents.[1] This abuse was tolerated even by the enlightened Dean Colet, who ordered the boys at St. Paul's to hear a Child-Bishop preach a sermon on Childermas Day. It was prohibited by a proclamation of Henry VIII. in 1543, but survived in some parts of England till the reign of Elizabeth. Strype extenuates the profanity of the proceedings by pleading "that there might this at least be said in favour of this old custom, that it gave a spirit to the children; and the hopes that they might one time or other attain to the real mitre, made them mind their books."[2]

The mummery of the Boy-Bishop was not the only entertainment permitted at Eton in the later part of the year; for, at the end of November, the Master chose plays for public performance by the boys at Christmas-tide. Malim admits the levity of these representations; but he pleads in their defence that nothing is more conducive to fluency of expression, and a graceful deportment among the young actors. The plays were usually in Latin, but English ones were sometimes selected if specially clever and witty.[3] Udall's comedies were doubtless popular.

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1507—1508. "Pro reparatione *le Rochet* pro episcopo puerorum xj$^{d.}$" In an *Inventory* of the reign of Henry VIII. it is described as a present from James Denton (King's 1486) for use at St. Nicholas's time, which certainly confirms Brand's theory.

[2] For further particulars about Boy-Bishops see Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, and Walcott's *William of Wykcham*, p. 205.

[3] The entries about the plays in the *Audit Books* are so numerous, that we can only give a few specimens. 1525—1526. "Pro expensis circa ornamenta ud duos lusus in aula tempore Natalis Domini x$^{s.}$" 1548—1549. "Solutum informatori pro vj berbis juxta x$^{d.}$ v$^{s.}$ Solutum eidem pro iiij *ly whyte caulis* juxta v$^{d.}$ xx$^{d.}$" 1550—1551. "To Mr. Usher for an interlude that was plaide in the Haull vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$" 1552—1553. "To the Scholem$^{r.}$ for beardds to the players in Christe-

The regular school work was suspended from the 20th of December till the Epiphany. During that interval the only instruction given was in the art of writing, in which, to judge by the specimens still extant, the Eton boys were adepts. The more industrious scholars, however, got through a good deal of work at this time, for they used daily to vie with one another in verses, epigrams, and speeches. These exercises were purely voluntary, and were carried on almost without the knowledge of the authorities. But in case any boy seemed too much absorbed in his studies, the Master would urge him to take part in the games of his schoolfellows. No work whatever was done on Christmas, and the boys went to bed at seven, because in previous times they had been obliged to rise between three and four for matins. On all church festivals at Christmastide, the boys played in the afternoon and evening near the fire in the hall, but on school days they only played there in the evening.

We may supplement Malim's account of the school discipline, by a few notes respecting the position of the *Commensales* in the middle of the sixteenth century. The original scheme of Henry VI. had offered gratuitous instruction at Eton, to an indefinite number of boys, who in other respects were to be maintained

mas vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$" "Item paid to Grave for a horse lock delyver'd at Chrystemas laste paste at the commandement of my lord of mischief viij$^{d.}$" 1556—1557. "For mendinge of the players raymente viij$^{d.}$ Item to the mynstrells ij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$" 1557—1558. "Delyveryd to Mr. Scholem$^{r.}$ at playes iij$^{s.}$ ix$^{d.}$" "Itm candells for the playes & y^{e} children ij$^{s.}$" 1566—1567. "To Mr. Scholemaster for his charge setting fur the ij playes 19$^{o.}$ Martii iij$^{l.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$" 1568—1569. "For ij dossen of links at iij$^{d.}$ the linke for y^{e} childrens showes att Christmass vj$^{d.}$" 1572—1573. "For vj poundes of candles at the playes in the halle ix$^{d.}$"

by their relations; and the Statutes contemplated two classes of these independent scholars, corresponding to "Gentlemen Commoners" and "Commoners" respectively. The Audit Books show that the former took their meals in the hall at the table with the Chaplains, Usher, and Clerks, while the latter sat with their schoolfellows who were members of the foundation. There can be little doubt that the number of these original Oppidans increased considerably soon after the dissolution of the monasteries. The charges for their board also increased rapidly, partly in consequence of the depreciation in the value of money. The following is the earliest bill for an Eton boy which has been preserved. It was addressed to Sir Gilbert Dethick, the King-at-Arms, and may with certainty be referred to one of the earlier years of the reign of Mary.

"Mr. Garter

After most hartye coñedac'ons unto you, theise shalbe to lett yo^{u} understande that the coñons are raysed ij$^{d.}$ weeklye in ev'ry coñensall. Soe that the some for Nicholas your sonne coñeth to xvj$^{s.}$ tother expenses for washinge and other necessaries are particularlye mencyoned undernethe

Imp'mis for store monye	ij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
It'm for washinge	xvj$^{d.}$
It'm for paper	viij$^{d.}$
It'm for candles	iij$^{d.}$
It'm for quarters stipend	vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
S'ma	xj$^{s.}$ vij$^{d.}$

I am bold to troble your mastership with my l'res att this p'sent, because I must paye a great deal of monye nowe out of hand. I pray yo^{u} sende itt by this bringer, or els the next weke by one of yor s^{r}vants

Yo^{rs} to comaunde to his power

WILL^{A}M GRENE, Usher of Eton."[1]

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, A.D. 1838, vol. ii. p. 490.

It would appear from the above, that the Master and Usher had already begun to disregard the express command of Henry VI., that they should impart instruction gratuitously to all comers. Nicholas Dethick must have been a Commensal at the lowest table, where the charge for board about this period was a shilling a head per week, which just covered the expense incurred by the College. Each mess of four boys, whether foundation Scholars, or Commensals, received food to the value of twopence at every meal with an extra pennyworth at supper on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. A further sum of 1*s.* 4*d.* was allowed in the week "for breade, drink, otemell, and sause," so that the total cost of the commons was 3*s.* 11*d.* a week in every mess. The Commensals at the second (or gentlemen's table) paid 1*s.* 8*d.* a week. The fare at the high table was of course much more luxurious. Strangers paid twopence, three halfpence, or penny for a meal according to the table at which they were placed.[1] The entertainment of them was thus a source of profit rather than of loss to the College.

The next Eton boys of whom we have any particular account were the two sons of Sir William Cavendish, who were taken there in 1560. Their step-father, Sir William St. Loe, writing to his wife says:—

"The Amnar[2] saluteth the, and sayeth no jenttlemen's chyldren in Ingland schalbe bettar welcum, nor bettar looked unto then owre boyes."

Henry, the elder of the two, a godson of the Queen, was nearly ten years old, and William Cavendish was just a year younger. The bill for their expenses begins on the 21st of October, when they lodged at the inn, and

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, temp. Mary.

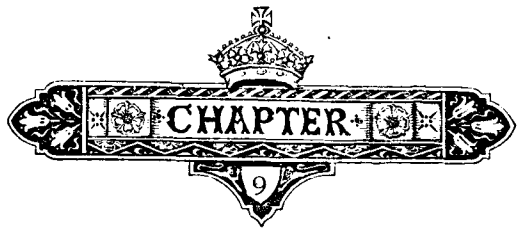
[2] *i.e.* Almoner, or Bursar.

there entertained the two sons of Sir Francis Knolles, whom they regaled with pottage, boiled and roast mutton, chicken, bread and beer. They appear to have dined with their young friends on the following day, as the only payment recorded was for their servant's dinner. On the third day of their residence at Eton they moved into lodgings kept by one Richard Hylles, who undertook to keep them and their attendant for 13*s.* 4*d.* per week, exclusive of firing. A few days later they gave a breakfast to "the cumpanye of formes in the scole according to the use of the scole;" but as the breakfast only cost sixpence, the number of guests cannot have been large. On the 16th of November, some furniture arrived at the wharf and was thence conveyed to the lodgings. The two brothers soon after this began to dine and sup in the College hall, paying 1*l.* 4*s.* a month to the Bursars, so that they must have been Commensals at the second table. The books used by them in school were Cicero's *Atticus* and *de Officiis*, Lucian's Dialogues, Æsop's Fables, and Edward VI.'s Latin Grammar. Most of the entries on the bill relate to candles or to articles of dress, among which we may notice the gowns of black frieze then worn by Oppidans as well as by Collegers. Both the Cavendishes must have been very extravagant in shoe-leather, as they had new pairs of boots at Easter, Whitsun Day, and the other great festivals. In the course of a single year each of them bought seven pairs, and those belonging to the younger brother were constantly undergoing repairs. A curious charge of 6*d.* occurs every term as "quarterydge in penne and ynke, brome and byrche." On one occasion they gave threepence "to a man to see bayre bayting and a camell in the Colledge as other

schollers dyd."[1] William Cavendish was afterwards created Earl of Devonshire; and many of his descendants have, like him, received their education at Eton.

[1] *Retrospective Review*, Second Series, vol. ii. pp. 149—155.

Gateway under Lupton's Tower.



1558–1595.

Fall of Provost Cole—Election of William Bill—Ecclesiastical Changes—Address of the Scholars to the Queen—Election of Richard Bruerne—Visitation of the College—Election of William Day—French Hostages—Fast-days—Dispensation to the Fellows—Royal Visits.

THE accession of Elizabeth in November, 1558, effected a great change in the position and prospects of Provost Cole, who had allied himself so closely with the persecuting faction in the late reign, as to have become an object of aversion to many of the Reformers. Regardless of consequences, he boldly proclaimed himself an opponent of any further ecclesiastical innovations. He soon had an opportunity of defending his principles, at a formal disputation held at Westminster Abbey, in March, 1559, between several prominent representatives of the two religious parties. He was selected as the first spokesman on his side, and argued at some length in favour of the retention of the Latin service-books.[1] According to Jewel's

[1] Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (ed. Pocock), vol. iii pp. 615—616; vol. v. pp. 514—529.

account, Cole stamped, raved, snapped his fingers, and frowned at his adversaries, styling them firebrands, and authors of heresy.[1] The conference came to an abrupt termination on a question of procedure; and Cole was declared contumacious, fined 500 marcs, and deprived of his preferments. He was eventually committed to the Fleet prison, and ended a memorable career in such obscurity, that even the date and place of his death are not known with certainty.[2]

In the meanwhile, a Royal Commission was issued, ordering Sir William Cecil, Sir Anthony Cook, and Drs. Parker, Bill, Haddon, May, Wendy, Horne, and Pilkington, to hold visitations at Cambridge, and at Eton, and to tender the oaths of allegiance, &c. to the principal members of the various colleges.[3] Five days after the date of this document, William Bill, one of the Commissioners, was elected to a Fellowship at Eton, and, within the next fortnight, he was advanced to the Provostship, by an unanimous vote. The See of Lincoln was then vacant by the deprivation of Bishop Watson, and that of Canterbury by the death of Cardinal Pole, so the Vice-Provost and Fellows had to present their new chief, for confirmation, to the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury.[4] The College Register does not make any direct mention of a royal mandate; but there is an entry in the Audit Book of a payment made "to hym as browght the quenes majesties letters" on the 8th of June, which probably had reference to the election. At any rate the Fellows must have felt

[1] Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (ed. Pocock), vol. vi. p. 407.

[2] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* vol. i. p. 418.

[3] Strype's *Annals of the Reformation* (1824), vol. i. p. 248. June 20, 1559.

[4] *Eton Register*, vol. ii. ff. 31, 32. July 5, 1559.

sure that their choice would be approved in high quarters. The Commissioners were so well satisfied with these signs of loyalty to the Queen, and of respect to one of their own body, that they abandoned their intention of holding a Visitation at Eton.

William Bill, the new Provost, was a self-made man. He had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, but on such slender means that his election to a Fellowship had to be postponed for a time, in consequence of his inability to pay the trifling sum of money then claimed by the Crown as first-fruits. He rose to be Master of his own College, and afterwards of Trinity College, whence, however, he was summarily ejected by Mary.[1]

On the Sunday immediately following the accession of Elizabeth, Bill was the preacher at St. Paul's Cross, which has been described as "the oracle before which whoever would prognosticate the coming changes, whether in advance or in retrograde, would take his stand and listen in eager expectation."[2] On this, as on other occasions, Bill assumed a moderate and pacific tone, and he seems always to have been willing to receive his instructions from the Court. That men of his calibre were scarce, may be inferred from the fact that at one and the same time he held three such important posts as the Provostship of Eton, the Mastership of Trinity College, and the Deanery of Westminster. He was moreover Chief Almoner to the Queen, and on this score he obtained from the Vice-Provost and Fellows, leave of absence from Eton for an indefinite period.[3] Nevertheless we find him spending about fifteen weeks

[1] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* vol. i. p. 210.

[2] Milman's *S. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 255.

[3] *Eton Register*, vol. ii. f. 35.

in a year at the Lodge,[1] which must have proved a convenient residence when the Court was at Windsor.

The first action taken by the new Provost was the procurement of a royal licence for the annual election of Scholars.[2] Ecclesiastical changes were only introduced with caution. During the first two years of the reign of Elizabeth the full number of festivals enjoined by the Founder were observed in the hall, and the old system of obits was maintained.[3] Epitaphs requesting prayers for the dead were still allowed to be set up in the Church.[4] On the other hand the use of the Sarum Missal was discontinued, and new Communion-Books and Psalters were purchased.[5] The College soon combined with that of Winchester, and with the two Universities, in a petition for leave to conduct divine service in Latin, so that the scholars might be familiarized with that language. The Queen granted this request by letters patent, only stipulating that in those Colleges which, like Eton, possessed Churches instead of mere Chapels, special services should be provided for the parishioners in the vulgar tongue.[6] The high altar at Eton was spared until Elizabeth had occupied the throne for a full year, but was finally destroyed on the 9th of November, 1559.[7] A year and a half later, the beautiful mural paintings were effaced. They suffered this indignity at the hands of the College barber,

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1560—1561.

[2] *Ibid.* 1558—1559. "Itm Mr. Provosts servaunts expenses to the Courte for licence of the election iij^{s} ij^{d}."

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Brass of Robert Stokys in the Church (Lipscomb's *History of Bucks*, vol. iv. p. 488), and epitaphs of John Belfield, and of "Sir Alexander Philippe, Chantrie preist for Doctor Lupton" now missing. *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 349.

[5] *Eton Audit Books*, 1558—1559, 1559—1560.

[6] Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 223. April 6, 1560.

[7] *Eton Audit Book*, 1559—1560, f. 246.

Vincent Brooks Day & Son Lith

HEAD

From one of the Mural paintings in the Church at Eton
Reduced from a drawing by R.H Essex

who received six and eightpence "for wypinge oute the Imagery worke uppon the walles of the Churche."[1]

Mural Painting in the Church.

The material employed was, doubtless, mere whitewash,

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1560—1561.

and thus hidden, these interesting works of art remained comparatively uninjured to our own age. It was reserved for the Protestant fanaticism of the nineteenth century to destroy with chisels and scrapers as many of the paintings as could not effectually be concealed from view by the canopies of the new stalls.

The Eton scholars were not tardy in declaring their devotion to Queen Elizabeth, as is evinced by a small volume of Latin verses now preserved among the MSS. in the British Museum.[1] It professes to be a new year's gift to the Queen, and the names of the young poets enable us to fix its date with tolerable certainty as $15\frac{59}{60}$. The collection comprises the productions of forty-four boys in the upper forms; but more variety is observable in the metres employed, than in the subject-matter of the verses. All the compositions abound in fulsome flattery, and in prayers that Elizabeth will gratify her loyal people, as well as her own inclination, by contracting an early marriage. Edward Scott, one of the first contributors, writes :—

Di tibi dent natos, exoptatumque maritum,
Di faxint nati ut sint similesque tui.

Others follow in the same strain. The style of their Latinity exhibits a vast improvement on that of William Paston. The Queen had at this time at least two suitors on hand. Jewel writes : "The Swede and Charles, the son of the Emperor, are courting at a marvellous rate. But the Swede is most in earnest, for he promises mountains of silver in case of success. The lady, however, is probably thinking of an alliance nearer home."[2] Prince John, of Sweden, attended the Court to offer his own and his brother's new-year's greetings on the very same day that the young Etonians presented

[1] *King's MS.* 12, A. lxv. [2] *Zurich Letters* (*Parker Society*).

their verses.[1] Though Elizabeth did not follow the advice so freely given by these young match-makers, she came to see their school in the course of the year. The only records of her visit are to be found in the Audit Book, which mentions a payment of 15*d.* "for fyve burthens of russhes to strewe Mr. Durston's chamber against the quene's commynge," and another of 11*s.* to two cooks who came from Westminster to assist in the kitchen. Durston was one of the Fellows who had been elected during the Marian reaction; he must have exhibited more loyalty towards Elizabeth on this occasion than he did in the following year.

Dr. Bill was not destined to enjoy his numerous preferments for long, as he died just two years after his election to the Provostship. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where an epitaph describes him a quiet man who "*bene perfecit multa loquendo parum.*"[2] The parish-clerk at Eton received two shillings for "ringynge Mr. Provoste's knyll 17 Julii," 1561.[3]

By a will, dated a short time before his decease, Dr. Bill bequeathed to the College a quarter of his theological library, and also the sum of 40*l.* for providing a good coverlet for the bed of every Scholar.[4] A silver seal, originally engraved for him, was used by successive Provosts until a few years ago.[5]

[1] Strickland's *Queens of England.*

[2] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab*, vol. i. p. 211.

[3] *Eton Audit Book*, 1560—1561, f. 272.

[4] Will in the Court of Probate, London. *Loftes*, f. 37.

[5] *Eton Audit Book*, 1559—1560, f. 251. "Itm for three ounces of silv for a seale belonginge to Mr. Provosts office xvs. Itm for the gravinge thereof ls." Mr. Pettigrew has fallen into the extraordinary error of calling this seal "that of the Church, college, and parish of Eton"! *Journal of Brit. Arch. Ass.* vol. xii. p. 60. A woodcut of it forms the tail-piece of this chapter. The original matrix was so broken that it had to be recast for the present Provost.

The Fellows had exercised such an unusual amount of power during the frequent absences of Dr. Bill, that they did not hesitate to decide on a successor to him without awaiting any instructions from Court. Their choice fell upon Richard Bruerne, who was elected on the 25th of July, and formally installed in the choir of the Church a week later.[1] Bruerne was a Bachelor of Divinity, and had formerly held a Fellowship at Eton, so that he was well qualified for the office of Provost, according to the Statutes. Nor was he deficient in learning, for his adversaries acknowledged him to be "an excellent Hebraist."[2] On the other hand, his sympathies lay with the Roman party, and, worse still, he had been guilty of immorality so scandalous that he had been obliged to resign the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at Oxford.[3] Following the precedent set in the case of Dr. Bill, the Fellows accorded leave of absence to the new Provost,[4] who was thus enabled to retain a stall at Christ Church, and another at Windsor.

The boldness of these proceedings aroused the indignation of reformers and courtiers alike. Bishop Grindal wrote to Secretary Cecil complaining that "ytt is a shame thatt suche a sorte of hedge-priestes shulde presume so farre upon any obsolete statute knowynge the Queens majesties prerogative so long exercised without interruption, and that they shulde doo it *impune*, or that it shulde stande in force."[5] A royal letter was thereupon despatched to Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordering him to summon some of the

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. ii. ff. 43, 44.
[2] *Zurich Letters* (*Parker Society*), vol. i. p. 66.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 12.
[4] *Eton Register*, vol. ii. f. 44.
[5] *Domestic State Papers*, Eliz. vol. xix. No. 18. August 11, 1561.

members of the old Commission, and forthwith to hold the Visitation of Eton so long postponed. The Commissioners were specially instructed to examine into the circumstances of the late election, when the Fellows "without our assent or without our pleasure therein by them sought have chosen one to be their Provost, of whom there is disperst very evil fame."[1] The Archbishop addressed the notice of the intended visitation to the *Provost*, Vice-Provost, and others,[2] though the deprivation of Dr. Bruerne was a foregone conclusion. The College gave a handsome fee to the bearer of the document, and at once despatched the Vice-Provost to London ;[3] but all attempts to avert the impending disgrace were fruitless.

The Archbishop came to Eton accompanied by two of his colleagues, Horne, Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Anthony Cook ;[4] and the investigation commenced in earnest on the 9th of September, 1561. The Provost at first challenged the authority of the Commissioners, urging that it had expired at the end of a year from the time of their appointment. On the production of the Queen's letter, only a few weeks old, he withdrew his protest, and put in a formal appearance. He was accompanied by the Vice-Provost, three Fellows, the Master—Malim, the Usher, five Chaplains, four Clerks, and a Notary Public. Three Fellows—Kirton, Ashbrooke, and Pratt, and one of the Chaplains named Leg did not appear, and were accordingly deprived of their places for contumacy. The same penalty was inflicted on John Durston, one of the

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Eliz. vol. xix., No. 30, and Strype's *Memorials of Parker*, vol. iii. p. 28.

[2] *Eton Register*, vol. ii. f. 44.

[3] *Eton Audit Book*, 1560—1561, f. 273.

[4] *Ibid.* "Itm to my L. Canterburies pawntler iij^{s}. Itm to his cooke iij^{s}. Itm to Sr Anthony

Fellows, who though he did answer to his name, refused to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy. The Provost escaped the indignity of a formal dismissal by tendering his resignation; and the Commissioners decreed that he should receive 10*l.* from the College funds in compensation for his disappointment.[1]

When writing to report the proceedings of the Commission, Archbishop Parker expressed a hope that the Queen, in nominating a new Provost to the College, would take care "that that princely foundation might be so preserved, that it might tend to the flourishing of the realm; and not serve some private men's affections or commodity." In a letter to the Secretary of State, the Archbishop suggested the names of Richard Cheney, "a good, grave, priestly man," and of Andrew Pierson, his own Almoner. He specially pointed out that they were both Bachelors in Divinity, and unmarried; and added, with some irony, that except for the fact "that neither of them had been in Germany, and peradventure by a frailty had been at Mass in Queen Mary's time," he should consider them unexceptionable, and incomparably superior to some more zealous Protestant candidates. He also mentioned the name of Alexander Nowel, in case the Queen would consent to appoint a married clergyman. Elizabeth's strong feelings in favour of clerical celibacy were well known, and by no one better than by Parker himself, to whose wife she had administered a characteristic rebuff.

Cecil considered the Archbishop's list of candidates too circumscribed, and applied for advice to the Bishop

Cooks srvaunt iij$^{s.}$ Itm to Mr. Scholem$^{r.}$ for golde foyle, read & white to set forth the College armes at y^{e} visitacon xxij$^{d.}$"

[1] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, etc. pp. 634—638, Strype's *Memorials of Parker*, vol. i. pp. 205—206, and *Eton Audit Book*, 1560—1561, f. 264.

of London. Grindal, in reply, sent in no less than fourteen names, specially designating four men as married, and four as unmarried. The former were Nowel, Aylmer, Mulleyn, and Wattes. The latter were "Mr. Cheney, Mr. Robinson, Chapleyn to my Lord of Canterbury, who made a very good sermon yesterday at the Cross, Mr. Daye of Cambridge, and Mr. Calfhille, both eligible by the Statutes."[1] The Queen's choice eventually fell upon William Day, who was duly elected Provost on the 18th of December, 1561.[2] Dean Nowell was not aware that his name had been proposed, and so was not disappointed,[3] while Cheney and Aylmer were soon afterwards raised to the episcopal bench. As soon as the election was ended, one of the Fellows went to London to acquaint the Secretary of State with the result, and subsequently went to Cambridge to conduct the new Provost to Eton in state.[4]

If Elizabeth had nominated Day on account of his celibacy, she soon had occasion to repent of her choice, for having thus obtained a good piece of preferment, Day proceeded to marry a daughter of Bishop Barlow, a prelate whose five daughters all became the wives of bishops.[5] Day had been educated at both the great colleges of Henry VI., and was the younger brother of a former Provost of King's. Unlike his brother, he had espoused the cause of the Reformation, and had preached before the Convocation of the Clergy

[1] Strype's *Memorials of Parker*, vol. i. p. 207—209.

[2] *Eton Register*, vol. ii. f. 91.

[3] Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 68.

[4] *Eton Audit Book*, 1561—1562. "Itm for Mr. Atkynsons expenses rydinge to London wth letters to Mr. Secretarie Cicell, 18 Decemb. 22*s*. Itm for Mr. Atkynsons expenses rydinge to Cambridge to fetche Mr. Provost 1° Januarii 4*l*. 11*s*. 8*d*."

[5] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* vol. i. p. 279.

in which the Articles of Religion were framed. He is described as "a man of good nature, affable, and courteous, and at his table and in other conversation pleasant, yet allwayes sufficiently retaining his gravitie." He had "a good plain fashion of preaching apt to edify, and easy to remember."[1]

In Convocation, Day had given his vote against the retention of the Ceremonies, and in his first year at Eton he gave orders "for pullynge downe a Tabernacle of stone in ye bodie of the Churche," and "for whitninge Doctor Lupton's Chapell."[2] He reduced the number of Chaplains from six to four; and he seems to have alienated or surrendered some of the College plate. The Audit Books contain several notices of the carriage of the plate to Queenhithe, near the Tower of London.

In the second year of Day's Provostship, the plague made its way to Eton, and the house at Cippenham, which the College had just acquired by the death of Mrs. Lewin, proved very useful for the reception of some of the boys.[3] The tenant there was thenceforth bound by a clause in the lease to take in six scholars free of charge for the space of one term; and this arrangement continued until the erection of a Sanatorium in 1844. The violence of the pestilence drove Elizabeth away from London, and she moved to Windsor in October 1563. The Eton scholars again greeted her with a collection of Latin verses, now pre-

[1] Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 95.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1561—1562.

[3] *Ibid.* 1563—1564. "Itm to Shepperdes wiffe and other for making cleane the house at Cipnham for the children the iij of June xvj^d^. Itm for strawe for the children beddes iiij^d^. Itm given to foster the carriar for his paynes labouring at Cipnham aboute provision for the children of Colledge there iij of June xij^d^. Itm for a padd locke for the buttrye doore at Cipnham."

served in the British Museum.[1] The little volume contains seventy-two compositions, but the number of contributors was smaller than on the previous occasion, some of the boys sending in as many as six sets of verses apiece. Among the most prolific poets we may notice Giles Fletcher, afterwards Ambassador to Russia, Longe, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, and Bound, afterwards Vice-Provost of Eton. Many of the verses can be read backwards as well as forwards, while others form acrostics on the name of Elizabeth, or on the letters of the alphabet. The volume also contains several poor illuminations of the College Arms, &c., probably executed by William Malim, the Master, who wrote four lines in Greek on the reverse of the title-page, and who described himself as "*τῆς τῶν αἰτωνιέων σχολῆς ἀρχιδιδάσκαλος.*" His pupils vied with one another in the extravagance of the compliments which they addressed to the Queen. With more loyalty than reverence, they compared her to Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Gideon, Samson, Samuel, and Judith; and the heathen mythology was also called into requisition :—

> "*Nempe Minerva, Venus, Juno, tibi munera clara*
> *Distribuunt, corpus Venus eximium, tibi Juno*
> *Divitias Arabum gazas gemmasque nitentes,*
> *Virtutem Pallas quæ non peritura vigebit.*"

A comparison to Lucretia must have been especially soothing to a princess whose fair reputation had so often been attacked by calumny. In a preface in Latin prose, the light which centred in Elizabeth was reflected back on both her parents, at some sacrifice of consis-

[1] *King's MS.* 12, A. xxx. It is exhibited in one of the glass cases among the specimens of fine bookbinding. The cover is of white vellum impressed with the Royal Arms, scrolls, etc. in the style of the 16th century.

tency. The author (evidently Malim himself) could hardly have had the sad story of Anne Boleyn very clearly before him, when he described her seducer and murderer as "*quadam divina Providentia tanquam Semideus!*"

The volume concludes with a Latin prayer that the Queen may be preserved from the plague; but the real object of the offering is stated more clearly in the preface. The boys are there made to request the Queen, if she is pleased with their productions, to bestow some mark of her favour on "our dearest master, by whose kindness and extreme watchfulness, by day and by night, we have in a short time attained such proficiency in literature," and "not to suffer him to be oppressed by any grievous want, or to be ground down by ceaseless labours and studies," after twenty years of work at Eton and at Cambridge. Malim is elsewhere described as a good scholar, who, after taking his degree at King's, had travelled as far as Constantinople and Jerusalem.[1] His pupils may really have been anxious that he should be promoted, or, at any rate, removed, for we hear of several of them running away from Eton "for fear of beating." This event created some sensation at Windsor, and a conversation on the subject in Cecil's rooms at the Castle, induced Roger Ascham to compose his celebrated treatise on education, entitled "The Schoolmaster."[2]

Another occurrence of a graver nature brought the College under the immediate notice of the Secretary of State at this time. It had been found desirable to place De Foix, the French Ambassador, under some restraint, in retaliation for his royal master's ill-treat-

[1] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* vol. ii. p. 175.

[2] Preface to Ascham's *Schoolmaster.*

ment of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton; and rooms were provided for him in the College at Eton, so that he might be near the Court. Cecil described him as "better lodged than ever he was in England, at liberty to walk and ryde where he will;"[1] but De Foix himself complained that all his movements were watched. At the end of four months, the smouldering animosity between him and Provost Day burst into a flame. It seems that strict orders had been given that the gates of the College should be kept closed at night, but that the Frenchmen claimed immunity from all discipline. On the 30th of December, 1563, the Ambassador detained a couple of guests—one of them an Italian—in his room till half-past eight o'clock, and then sent his servant for the keys. The Provost absolutely refused to give them up, and showed himself equally obdurate when the strangers and the Ambassador's secretary came to him for them, a few minutes later. The interview ended in high words, and the Provost, anxious to avoid another scene, locked his outer door. He had barely done so, when it was violently assailed from without, and broken open. De Foix and his secretary came in with swords in their hands, and accompanied by their suite; they dragged the Provost into the hall, and threatened to leave him out in the cold till morning. Day was unarmed, and had only one servant with him, so he saw that resistance was useless, and yielded up the keys quietly.[2] Strype thus relates the sequel:—

"In the morning the ambassador sent two of his servants unto the Secretary,[3] to complain of the Provost, fashioning

[1] Wright's *Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. p. 137. August 20, 1563.

[2] *Foreign State Papers*, Eliz. vol. lxvii. No. 3.

[3] Sir William Cecil.

a tale of the Provost's refusal; with a remembrance, by the way, that they were forced to break open the door. The Secretary answered, that he would send for the Provost, and hear him also; and if it should appear that he used himself otherwise than became him, he should bear the blame. Which speech of his they liked not; but said he was partial to the Provost and suddenly departed. Being scarcely gone from the chamber, they met the Provost coming to the Secretary to complain, as he had cause. And the Frenchmen passing out of the Castle met with two of the Provost's men, whose hearts, as it seems, did rise against them for misusing their master; and so they fell to some quarrelling, and drawing of their swords. But there was no hurt on either part. Upon this the Frenchmen came back to the Secretary's chamber with another cry; and finding the Provost with him, who knew no thing of the matter, the Secretary sent for the Knight-Marshal, to examine the matter, and, if he saw cause, to commit the Provost's men to prison; which though the Marshal found no great cause, yet it was ordered so to be."[1]

A few days later the Provost sent in a written account of the disturbance at the Lodge, with a long list of complaints against the Ambassador and the members of his retinue. The latter were accused of introducing women of loose character into the College, and of attempting to corrupt the morals of the scholars. The page was said to have played practical jokes by putting stones in the locks of the doors, &c.

"4 Itm the said page mysused the fellowes by evill language as calling them all knaves wch some of them hearde and complayned to me therof."

"7 Itm wheras their kichen ys under the usshers chambre they have sundry tymes thrust upp spittes in such places as

[1] Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 94—97. The *State Paper* from which Strype derived this information is now missing. His account of the quarrel between Day and De Foix is evidently based upon the *State Paper* referred to in the last note, though differing from it in a few particulars.

the bordes be not close joyned and also dischardged their dagges[1] uppon other places of the sayd bordes to the great daunger of those that be above, but wch of them did it yt cannot well be knowen because they that be above cannot see them that be beneth, save that the first of Januarie about three of the clock at afternoone oon of them was seen thrust opp a spitt wherwth hee had almost hitt a little boy that was in the chambre, and he that did this was in a graye fryse coate or jerkyn and therby it is thought to be Eustace the boye of the buttrie, for none other in the house hath at anie tyme worne graye fryse but he only.

"8 Itm. they have used to molest the sayd ussher by imoderate noyse at unseasonable tymes of the night, and this was don by them wch lye nigh the Buttrie and Kytchen, and the like noyse hath ben made by them that lye on the other syde towards the Colledge wherof complaynt hath ben made to me by the fellowes of the howse dyverse tymes.

"9 Itm they have broken open a dore that leadeth out of their lodging into the Colledge leades where besydes the shamefull abuse of the place wch is not to be rehersed, they have cutt away the leade to shoote in their gonnes. They are to be charged wth this that lye in that lodging.

"10. Itm they have and do use daily to kill fesants, heron, shawes, mallards, teeles, and doves wth their hand gonnes, of all whiche sortes of fowles I have seen some myself brought into the howse. The principall doers of this are theise—Augustine and the Cooke, besydes other that use commonly to shute, as Sebastian the Butler, his Stewarde, Chamberlayn, and another that was lately delivered out of prison and comitted to him. Everie oon of theise I have seen myself in the fields wth his piece.

"11. Itm the laste of Decembre the lackye wth others whose names I cannot learne, spoyled a great manie of the Colledge bricks lying on the back side of ther kytchin wch they threw at the Schollers as they passed betwen the Schole and the fields, fyve of the sayd Scholers came to me the same daye to complayn and brought of the bricks wth them wch were throwen."

[1] *i.e.* pistols.

"12 Itm the xxixth of Decembre, Sadocke the goodman of the house where his horses stand, and some of his servants lodge complayned to me that suche of the Frenche men as lodge in his howse used to come to their lodging at unseasonable howers and that they have broken upp his doers and wyndowes to come in in the night season, whereby oon of the Quenes highnes men that lodged there was in feare both of daunger toward himselfe and also in doubt of losing that he had."

Provost Day also complained that the Ambassador openly avowed his intention of retaining, during his whole stay, the furniture and plate which had been lent to him on his arrival at Eton.[1] If only one half of these charges were well founded, there was good reason for the removal of the Frenchmen, which was at once ordered by the Secretary of State.

The next event of interest in the College history was the destruction of the few remaining objects in the Church that could possibly have been considered superstitious. The Holy Rood had doubtless been taken down soon after the accession of Elizabeth; but the lofty screen which had supported it was spared until 1569 or 1570. We may form some idea of the size and grandeur of this structure from the fact that its demolition at this period occupied twenty-one days of carpenters' work, irrespectively of the time spent in "joyninge ye weinscott," and "repairing and washhinge ye walls where ye roodloft stoode, and pavinge ye same place with gret stone & bricke." Another entry in the same Audit Book records a payment "to Glover and his laborers for two daies brekinge downe Images and fillinge there places wth stone and plaster."[2]

In iconoclastic zeal Provost Day was equalled or

[1] *Foreign State Papers*, Eliz. vol. lxvii. No. 2.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1569—1570.

surpassed by one of the Fellows—John Wulward—who had narrowly escaped being deprived of his Fellowship at King's for refusing to celebrate the Holy Communion with his face turned towards the East.[1] Henceforth the pulpit was more frequently in use than the altar; and a sounding-board was put up in the Church to give importance and dignity to the preacher.[2]

The utterances of the ruling powers in the reign of Elizabeth on the subject of fasting were not always quite consistent with one another. A statute enacted in her fifth year imposed a fine of 3*l.* on any one who unlawfully ate meat on fish-days, or even on Wednesdays which were thus added to the existing fast-days; but it guarded itself against being supposed to teach that abstinence from flesh was of any necessity for the salvation of the soul of man, and laid great stress on the importance of encouraging the fisheries. A royal proclamation, however, in 1572, associated the religious with the political objects of fasting, styling the eating of meat in Lent "licentious and carnal disorder, in contempt of God and man, and only to the satisfaction of devilish and carnal appetite." A later proclamation protested against any superstitious interpretations of its motives; while, on the other hand, the unrevoked Homilies continued to describe fasting as "a work profitable to us and accepted of God."[3] The orders issued on the subject were nominally of universal obligation; but dispensations were readily granted, or rather sold. The two Universities,

[1] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, p. 209.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1578—1579. "Making the hed over the pulpet in the Church."

[3] Hallam's *Constitutional History*, vol. i. pp. 397—399, and Haweis's *Sketches of the Reformation*, pp. 248—267.

and the College of Westminster, were exempted from the Wednesday fast in 1564;[1] but the College of Eton, so often associated with them in other matters, did not obtain the same privilege until 1577.[2] The dispensation issued at this later date did not affect the Lenten fast, and special supplies of ling and haberdine continued to be procured in London year after year.[3]

A dispensation of a very different character had already been granted by Elizabeth, of which it is hardly too much to say that it effected an essential change in the collegiate system of Eton, and that its results may be observed at the present time. The Statutes of Henry VI. had made it unlawful for the Fellows to hold any other preferment, and the clause to this effect had been strengthened by an express prohibition of the reception of any dispensations whatever.[4] It had, therefore, been the custom for every Fellow to vacate his place at Eton, on undertaking the cure of souls. Elizabeth, however, was advised to abolish this restriction; and by a letter dated Greenwich, the 11th of June, 1566, she gave permission to the Fellows to hold one living apiece of the annual value of 40 marcs. The reason assigned for this change was :—

"Because we certainly perceive the pryce mete for mayntenance of Hospitalitie and Lyving is far greter at this daye than ben in former tymes, and that it is not inconvenient for youe to have some cures abrode, where youe maye

[1] Strype's *Memorials of Parker*, vol. i. book ii. ch. 25.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1576—1577. "To her Matie, the bishopp of Canterburye and other officers of the Chauncery the fees for or Lycence of Wednsdayes dyet 4*l.* 8*s.* 4½*d.*" "Itm geven at Mr. Larks office and other offices the same tyme for expedicon 5*s.*" "Itm for Mr. Barker his expenses to get owt the greate seale to be annexed to the Bysshops lycense and other tymes 11*s.*"

[3] *Eton Audit Books*, passim. "Our Lenten provision."

[4] *Statute* xxv.

both teach and informe our subjectes in their duties to God and us."[1]

The effect of this dispensation will be seen by comparing the number of Fellows elected in the centuries respectively preceding and succeeding that year. The *Registrum Regale* gives ninety-seven names between 1466 and 1566, and forty-six between 1566 and 1666. The next century only counts for thirty-seven names. Had the Fellows continued to reside regularly at Eton, and to take some part in the work of education, modern legislation might have taken a very different course.

During part of Dr. Day's tenure of office at Eton, he had under him as Vice-Provost his own brother-in-law, William Wickham. Sir John Harrington tells us that, during any occasional absence of the Head-Master, it was usual for the Vice-Provost to undertake the management of the School. It was thus that Harrington fell under the jurisdiction of Wickham, who showed towards him "as fatherly a care as if he had been a second tutor" to him.[2] William Wickham became successively Dean and Bishop of Lincoln, and Bishop of Winchester, but he is best known as the preacher of the sermon at the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots, at Peterborough, in 1587.

The epitaph of Thomas Smith, one of the Fellows at this period, deserves to be quoted as an example of the kind of versification which was then tolerated at a seat of learning :—

"Anno 1572. August 18 daye.
Under this stone lieth Thomas Smith, late a Fellow heare,
And of Cambridge Mr. of Arts of the King's Colledge theare.
He did dep'te from earthlie life the tyme above exprest
Whose soule we hope dothe now remain in Abrams brest."

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4844, f. 196. [2] *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 92.

Ten years later another Fellow—Matthew Page, bequeathed 40*l.* for the purchase of fifteen coverlets "of good and faier tapestrie to laie uppon the bedds of the Schollars Collegiate." He desired that on each of them should be worked the Arms of Henry VI. and of Elizabeth, with the following couplet:—

"*Qui Leo de Juda est, et flos de Jesse, leones*
Protegat et flores, Elizabetha, tuos."

and also the Arms of Eton and King's Colleges, and a few Latin words recording the name of the donor.[1]

Several of the Head-Masters successively appointed by Provost Day were laymen. Reuben Sherwood, the first, afterwards became a physician at Bath.[2] Thomas Ridley turned his attention to the law, was made a Master in Chancery, and received knighthood at the hands of James I.[3] His successor at Eton, John Hammond, was a physician, and had among his patients some influential person at Court who procured for him a letter from the Queen, ordering the College to grant him a favourable lease.[4] Sherwood and Ridley were, like Malim, Kingsmen, and also less than thirty years of age at the time of their respective appointments to the office of Head-Master. We may here notice that the scholarship and discipline of Eton must have enjoyed a good reputation in the 16th century, as no less than five out of the first eight Masters of St. Paul's School were Kingsmen.[5]

[1] Will of Matthew Page, 1582, in *Eton Register*, vol. iv. f. 4. The *Eton Audit Book*, 1581—1582, records a payment "To Keene the glasier for drawinge the armes that are to be sett in the coverletts given by Doctor Byll & Mr. Page 18*s.*"

[2] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab*, vol. ii, p. 271.

[3] Foss's *Judges of England*, vol. vi. p. 8.

[4] *Eton Lease Book*, f. 20.

[5] Knight's *Life of Colet*. Their names were Rightwise, Cook, Malim, Harrison, and Mulcaster

Queen Elizabeth paid several visits to Eton, which are not recorded in the histories of her life;[1] and the College was also honoured by the presence of the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, in 1578,[2] and of the Duke of Wurtemburg, in August 1592.[3]

During some years, at least, of the reign of Elizabeth, Eton College rented a portion of a house in London from the sister College at Cambridge.[4] The site of

The first of these was the composer of the *Propria quæ maribus*, and *As in præsenti*, which, for more than three centuries, have assisted schoolboys in their difficulties about Latin genders, and irregular verbs.

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1569—1570. "To Philip Wilde for makinge ye two waies for ye quenes ma^tie^ to pass throwe Brockess 12*d.*" *Ibid.* 1588—1589. "To Thomas Keyne the glasier for worke done in Mr. Provostes lodginge against the comynge of the Quene ut per billam 9*s.* 6*d.*" "Itm to Willm Russell for one dayes worke to pull downe the porche at the Schole doore against the Quene's commynge 12*d.*" "Itm to Mr. Daye for 53 els of canvas for the Gentlemen and Children to make table clothes against the commyng of the Quene ut per billam 49*s.*" *Ibid.* 1589—1590. "To Holdernes for 3 dayes dressinge of the playing-filde by the garden when the Quene came 18*d.*" "Making railes at Shawe and digging holes for them at the Quenes commynge 8*d.*" *Ibid.* 1591—1592. "To Goodman Bell for 12 loads of sand when the Quene came 4*s.* Itm to George Flame 3 dayes dygging the sande 3*s.* Itm to Rolfe 2 dayes & a halfe carrying of sande to the Seller and other places when the Quene was here 20*d.* Itm to Rolfe for 3 dayes rydding awaye Rubbishe in the kytchen yearde clensing the garden diche and spredding sande 2*s.* Itm to James and Loveroye for sweeping the hall galleries cloysters and other busynes when the Quene was here, 3 dayes 4*s.* Itm. to Skydmore and Biddle 3 dayes taking downe & setting up things in the chambers when the Quene was here 6*s.*"

[2] *Ibid.* 1577—1578. "To Ralford for 2 loades of gravell againste the L. Keeper's comynge 8*d.*"

[3] *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 17.

[4] *Eton Audit Book*, 1576—1577. "Paide by the handes of Mr. Bust Vicepreposit the rent due to the Kings Colledge of Cambridge for the lodging in their howse in London due for one half yeare endinge at Michaelmas 1577, 46*s.* 8*d.* Itm paide to Mr. Bust towardes his charge rydinge to Cambridge abowt that business 28*s.* 6*d.*"

the house is not specified, but it was probably in the Ward of Baynard's Castle, where King's College holds property still called "Gardrobe Duke Humphrey," after the famous Duke of Gloucester.[1] The Audit Books show that the Provost and Fellows were in the habit of making grants of money for extraneous purposes;—thus in the year of the great Northern Rebellion they evinced their loyalty by providing a steel saddle and the armour requisite for a light horseman;[2] they also contributed towards establishing a preacher at Ripon,[3] and towards the ransom of a Greek Archbishop.[4] A quaintly worded entry records the journey of one of the Fellows "to London, to laye wayte amonge the Goldesmithes for the College plate that was stolne."[5]

William Day held the Deanery of Windsor together with the Provostship of Eton for several years, but had to resign both these offices on being elevated to the See of Winchester in 1595.[6] One of his last acts at Eton was to despatch a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln informing him that the electors had been unable to agree upon a new Fellow to take the place of William Whitaker, lately deceased. The Bishop exercised the right of nomination which thus lapsed to him, in favour of a certain Thomas Key.[7] The *Registrum Regale* gives no biographical note to William Whitaker, but a comparison of dates proves that he was identical

[1] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xx. pp. 306, 307.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1569—1570.

[3] *Ibid.* 1589—1590. "Geven towardes the new erecting of the Colledg at Rippon for the maintenaunce of a preacher for the same Towne 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*"

[4] *Ibid.* "Geven to Ptholomeus Archbusshopp of Larissa taken with the Turkes 40*s.*"

[5] *Ibid.* 1587—1588.

[6] Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*

[7] *Eton Register*, vol. iii. f. 17.

with the eminent Master of St. John's College of that name.[1] We may, therefore, reckon among the Fellows of Eton one of the most learned theologians of the age of Elizabeth.

[1] William Whitaker of St. John's College died on the 4th of December, 1595; and the letter to the Bishop of Lincoln is dated the 5th of January, $159\frac{5}{6}$, *i.e.* the first day after the expiration of the month during which the right of election was vested in the Provost and Fellows by the 9th Statute.

Official Seal of the Provost.

1595—1623.

Election of Henry Savile—The Eton Library—Distinguished Visitors—Lady Savile—The Eton Press—St. Chrysostom—Chamber, Robyns, Charke, and Mountague—The Commensals—Philip Lytton—Dismissal of a Head-Master—Death of Sir Henry Savile—Provost Murray.

ON the elevation of Dr. Day to the See of Winchester, Secretary Cecil took care that the Fellows of Eton should have no excuse for ignoring the claims of the Royal Prerogative, and accordingly ordered them to suspend the election of a new Provost until the Queen's pleasure should be known. He justified this prohibition on two grounds—partly on the general right of the Crown to present to every benefice rendered vacant by the incumbent's acceptance of a bishopric, and partly on the particular right of nomination which the Queen and her predecessors had ever exercised in regard to the Provostship of Eton.[1] The Fellows sent an obsequious answer,[2] and so the matter rested for several months.

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. iii. f. 17.

[2] *Ashm. MS.* 1537, f. 117, in the Bodleian Library.

The first, and, for aught we know, the only candidate of high position, was Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, but he was not considered unexceptionable, and Elizabeth seems to have appointed him "to be the Secretary of the Latin tongue, and to hold the Deanery of Carlisle, *in commendam*, in order to stop his mouth from importuning her any more."[1] Backed, however, by the powerful influence of the Earl of Essex, he eventually obtained a definite promise of the Provostship, though everybody was well aware that as a layman he was technically unqualified. The claims of the Royal Prerogative were pushed to an extreme point in the *mandamus*, which declared that it was merely "for ye respect and honor," that the Queen bore to her "noble Progenitors, Founders" of the College, that she allowed the Fellows even to go through the form of an election, the place being in her "sole and absolute gifte" in consequence of Dr. Day's promotion.[2] The Queen's nominee was accordingly elected on the 26th of May, 1596.[3]

Savile has lately been styled "the most learned Englishman in profane literature of the reign of Elizabeth,"[4] while older writers sometimes styled him a "Lay-Bishop" in consideration of his great theological knowledge.[5] After completing a severe course of study at Oxford, he had travelled on the continent for some time, and on his return he had assisted Elizabeth in the study of Greek and Mathematics. In 1586 he had been appointed Warden of Merton College, and

[1] Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 441.
[2] *Eton Register*, vol. iii. f. 18.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 520.
[5] Aubrey's *Lives of Eminent Men.* Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 334.

he continued to hold that post together with the Provostship of Eton, up to the day of his death. "Thus this skilfull gardiner had at the same time a nurcery of young Plants and an Orchard of grown Trees, both flourishing under his carefull inspection."[1]

Savile's first act as Provost of Eton was to institute legal proceedings, on behalf of the College, against his predecessor, for the recovery of the sum of 100*l.*, and of a silver ewer valued at 30*l.* Bishop Day himself died very soon after his promotion, but his executor refunded the money in instalments spread over four years.[2] Savile next turned his attention to the College library, which of late had been sadly neglected. The building was in a ruinous condition, and the shelves had received few additions since the "cleansing" in the reign of Edward VI. A carpenter was therefore despatched to Oxford "to view the Liberary there," lately founded by Sir Thomas Bodley;[3] and new presses were ordered. Two incidental entries in the Audit Book enable us to fix on what has since been called "Lower Master's Chamber" as the site of the Eton library at this period.[4] Before the repairs in it were quite finished, Savile had persuaded the Fellows of the desirability of increasing the collection of books. Year after year the College accounts record large payments, for the purchase of books, and for binding. The London dealers were eager to secure such excellent

[1] Fuller's *Worthies—Yorkshire.*

[2] *Eton Audit Books*, 1596—1600. The counsel employed by the College was Savile's own brother, afterwards a judge.

[3] *Ibid.* 1596—1597. The man is styled "John Joyner," the surnames of some members of the lower classes being still derived from their occupations, rather than from their parentage.

[4] *Ibid.* 1598—1599. "5 daies to sett upp new pales by the librarie in the stable yerd." *Ibid.* 1611—1612. "The chamber betwene the schole and the librarie."

customers, and used to tempt them to further outlay by allowing them a discount of twenty per cent.[1]

The Queen honoured Eton with two visits during Savile's time, the first of which is commemorated by an inscription rudely carved on the wainscot near the north-eastern corner of the hall :—

QUEEN ELIZABETHA AD NOS GAVE OCTOBER X
2 LOVES IN A MES 1596.

Her last visit was in 1600 or 1601.[2] In February of the latter year, Savile had the misfortune to lose her favour in consequence of his intimate connection with the Earl of Essex. When that ill-starred nobleman was committed to trial for high-treason, Savile was also arrested. Thus the first two lay Provosts of Eton—Smith and Savile—were made to suffer for the faults of their respective patrons. Savile, however, did not fare badly, for he was only detained in private custody for a short time.[3] Soon after his release, the Duc de Biron, the French Ambassador, came to Eton with a great retinue, and was received with the honour due to his position. John Wilson, who, "though the smallest boy in the school, had been made a Præpostor," addressed the Duke in a Latin speech, and received a tip of three angels for his pains.[4] As he did not go to King's until 1604, he must have been young at the time, as well as small of stature. The Audit Book records the receipt of "a buck at my Lorde Embassador's dyning in the College Hall."[5]

[1] *Ibid.* passim. There are lists of the books then purchased.

[2] *Ibid.* 1600—1601. "Itm to Mathewe Bell for 4 loads of sand 4*s.* & 2 loads of gravill 2*s.* and horse and carte to make awaye by the shooting fild at ye Quenes being here 6*d.*—6*s.* 6*d.*"

[3] *Chamberlain's Letters* (*Camden Society*), p. 106. Feb. 24, 1600.

[4] *Rawl MS.* B. 266, f. 3.

[5] An entry in the *Eton Audit Book*, 1602—1603, about the

James I. came to Windsor in the summer of 1603, to inspect the royal residence, but he seems to have disappointed the Etonians by postponing his intended visit to the College.[1] Savile was known to the King by reputation at least, and soon received flattering offers of preferment, but he declined everything except the honour of knighthood. Sir Thomas Edmunds wrote to Winwood on the 30th of September, 1604:—

"At the time of the King's late being at Windsor, he was drawn by Mr. Peter Young to see Eaton Colledge, and after a Banquett there made him, he knighted Mr. Savile. The gentlewoman your friend saith that the favour cometh now too late, and therefore not worthy of her."[2]

Lady Savile was indeed of a querulous disposition, and used to grudge the time which her husband devoted to his literary studies. On one occasion she said, "Sir Henry, I would I were a book too, and then you would a little more respect me;" to which a bystander replied, "You must then be an almanack, Madam, that he might change every year." When Savile was suffering from overwork at his edition of St. John Chrysostom, she threatened to burn the great Father for killing her husband.[3]

Savile, too, is described as a man of jealous and austere temper. "He would faine have been thought to have been as great a scholar as Joseph Scaliger," and he assumed a patronizing air towards professional

"making a Range in the Colledge kytchen for the Embassador" seems to refer to some other envoy.

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1602—1603. "Itm for Russhes for the Schole (expecting the Kinge) 18*d*." "Itm to Matthewe Bell for 6 loads of sand and for 2 loads of gravill expecting the Kinge 8*s*."

[2] Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 23.

[3] Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 335.

[4] Aubrey's *Lives of Eminent Men*.

men of letters who could not boast his gentle birth and commanding presence. He was displeased when praise was freely bestowed on other scholars. Casaubon says, "It is his custom to kick all men who are generally considered learned, and to treat them as asses on two legs."[1] At Merton College he was concerned in at least one serious dispute, for we hear that he "got a great victorie of his Fellowes, and raunsommed and punished divers of them, and amongst the rest expelled Mr. Colmer, who of griefe or curst hart, died within five dayes after."[2] At Eton, Savile was unpopular with the Kingsmen on account of his constant promotion of aliens, and with the boys on account of his severity. He had a rooted distrust of clever youths who relied on their natural talents. "Give me the plodding student," he would say, "if I would look for wits, I would go to Newgate; there be the wits."[3]

Sir Henry Savile lost his only son about 1601, and thenceforth resolved to devote his fortune as well as his time to the promotion of literature and science. With this object he founded and endowed the Professorships of Geometry and Astronomy at Oxford, which still bear his name, and which have respectively been held by Wren and by Halley. Savile's European reputation, however, rests upon his own works. His treatise on Roman warfare was thought worthy of being translated into German long after his death;[4] while a collection of old English historians made by him in 1596, has proved very useful to students in

[1] *Epistolæ* (1709), p. 461.

[2] *Chamberlain's Letters* (*Camden Society*), p. 27. November 8, 1598.

[3] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 316.

[4] Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 520, 528.

our own country. He was also engaged on the revision of the English Bible. Yet any labour bestowed on these productions was light in comparison with that of preparing the magnificent edition of the works of St. John Chrysostom, with which Savile's name must ever be associated. No systematic attempt had yet been made towards bringing together the numerous writings of this great Father of the Church, and many of them were almost unknown. Savile had himself purchased many valuable MSS. in the course of his travels, but they proved insufficient for his purpose, and he had to send agents to almost every part of Europe to make collations. James I. took so warm an interest in the matter that he instructed his ambassadors abroad to procure every facility for Savile's copyists. Among the foreign scholars who rendered assistance we may notice the names of De Thou, Casaubon, Le Duc, Gruter, Hoeschel, and Gabriel, Archbishop of Philadelphia.[1] The difficulties of the undertaking did not end with the correction of the numerous errors which had crept into the text, for there was a great scarcity of Greek type and of skilled printers in England. Savile was obliged to procure a fount of type from abroad, which received the name of the "silver letter," in contradistinction to "diamond," "paragon," &c.[2] He secured the services of the King's printer, John Norton, whom Casaubon styles "by far the richest man of his profession, and a man of good abilities;"[3] but he resolved to have the printing done under his own eye, at Eton. A range of buildings had recently been erected on the western side of the Stable Yard;

[1] Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, vol. v. pp. 103–135.

[2] *Harleian MS.* 5910.

[3] *Epistolæ*, p. 509.

and, in that portion of it which now forms the residence of the Head-Master, Savile caused the press to be set up. The other new rooms were used as granaries, as studies, and as dormitories for the Clerks and Commensals, the latter renting theirs from the Head-Master.[1]

The first productions of the Eton press were some small Greek books, the printing of which prepared Norton for the more serious work which lay before him. A collection of Iambic verses by John, Metropolitan of Euchaitis, is dated 1610, and several Orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen seem to have been published in that year. The former was edited by Matthew Bust, the latter by Richard Mountague, two promising young Kingsmen whom Savile had engaged to assist him. The edition of St. Chrysostom was three years in the press, and extended to eight volumes folio, which were issued from time to time. Casaubon speaks of the work as proceeding "at private cost but with royal spirit,"[2] and Fuller describes it as "a burden which he [Savile] underwent without stooping under it, though the weight thereof would have broken the back of an ordinary person."[3] The subscribers received with the last volume in 1613, a preface to the entire book, and eight prints from an elaborate copper-plate, for insertion in place of the unmeaning title-pages originally prefixed to the other volumes. The new title-page bears figures of the

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1608—1609. "New lockes for the dores in the new buildinge where the printers worke." In other *Audit Books* the new building is described as "by the Stable Yard," and mention is made of "posts at the new building in the high way," and of a "great window next the high way where the corne is taken up."

[2] *Epistolæ*, p. 430.

[3] *Worthies— Yorkshire.*

four great Fathers of the Holy Eastern Church, Savile's Arms, and those of various colleges at the two Universities, and small views of King's College, and Eton.[1]

Fuller says that one of the printers had been bribed to send over the sheets one by one to Paris, where the work was reproduced verbatim by Fronton le Duc, who only added a Latin translation.

"Thus two editions of Saint Chrysostome did together run a race in the world, which should get the speede of the other in publique sale and acceptance. Sir Henry his edition started first by the advantage of some months. But the Parisian edition came up close to it, and advantaged with the Latine translation (though dearer of price) outstript it in quickness of sale but of late the Savilian Chrysostome hath much mended its pace."

It seems clear, however, that the Eton edition had the start by two years, and as Le Duc was one of the scholars to whom Savile gave thanks for assistance rendered, the truth of Fuller's story is extremely doubtful.[2] Be this as it may, we know that "the worthy English knight, who set forth the *golden*-mouthed Father, in a *silver* print,"[3] impoverished himself while enriching the world of literature. The work is said to have cost no less than 8000*l.*, but it brought the editor more honour than money. The Elector Palatine gave him a handsome present of plate;[4] the United Provinces gave him a chain worth 40*l.*;[5] and the Venetian Republic caused a medal to be engraved with his name;[6] but the work sold very slowly. A thousand copies were originally offered to

[1] Compare the copies of the work in the British Museum.

[2] Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, under Johannes.

[3] Fuller's *Holy State*.

[4] *Domestic State Papers*, James I. vol. lxxii. No. 74.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. lxxvi. No. 27.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. lxxii. No. 121, and vol. lxxvii. No. 77.

the public at 9*l.* apiece, but in 1613 they were being sold at 8*l.*[1] The price was afterwards lowered considerably, and after Savile's death, some copies given or bequeathed by him to Eton College were disposed of at a third of the original price.[2]

Sir Henry Savile at one time contemplated publishing a complete collection of the works of St. Gregory Nazianzen, but he laid this scheme aside, on the appearance of Morel's edition in 1609. Richard Mountague was also to have edited the works of St. Basil the Great; but no Greek books issued from the Eton press after the Chrysostom, except the *Periegesis* of Dionysius, the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, and a Christmas Oration of St. Gregory Nazianzen, of which the first, and probably all three, were intended for use in the School. After Sir Henry Savile's death his Greek type was acquired by the University of Oxford, and lent by it to the sister University.[3]

The Vice-Provost during a great part of Savile's time was Baldwin Collins, a man "of such charity that it passeth belief: giving the poor the cloaths from off his back, and his hat from off his head." He refused many offers of preferment, saying, "I have enough, I have enough," and he used gratuitously to assist the clergy in the neighbourhood of Eton by preaching in their churches. It is also recorded to his credit that "he did freely prefer many poor but good scholars" under his charge.[4] The Fellowship vacated by his

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, James I. vol. lxxii. No. 57.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1623—1624. "Rec^d. of Mr. Vice-Provost for ij coppies of Chrissostom's sould by him at iij^l. the coppie vj^l." *Ibid.* 1628—1629, "Of Mr. Nightingall of Winsore for a copy of Chrysostom's works iij^l."

[3] *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Report iv. p. 464.

[4] *Cole's MS.* vol. xiv. f. 125.

death in 1616, was given to his son Daniel, and was held between the two for no less than seventy-seven years.[1]

Another Fellow who had taken part in the election of Savile was John Chamber, the author of some works in favour of astronomy, as distinguished from astrology,[2] but better remembered as the founder of two scholarships at Merton College for Postmasters (*Portionistæ*) to be chosen from among the boys at Eton who were superannuated for admission to King's. They are worth 65*l.* per annum, besides rooms and a portion of commons, and are in the gift of the Provosts of Eton and King's respectively.

Another benefactor at this period was Adam Robyns, a Fellow, who left 100*l.* for the purchase of a silver ewer and dish, and of tapestry for the hall. Robyns died in 1613; and little time was lost in carrying out the provisions of his will. A silver ewer and dish, double gilt, were sent down to Eton on approval by a certain William Terry, goldsmith of Lombard Street, and being definitely chosen they were sent back to London to have the Eton Arms engraved and enamelled on them, and to have cases fitted to them.[3] They are the earliest and most beautiful specimens of plate now in the possession of the College, and they occupy a prominent position on the side-board in the hall on the 4th of June, Founder's Day, and other festive occasions. The arras purchased with the balance of Robyns's bequest, from "Mr. Edmund Traves, citizen and habberdashher of London," has also been preserved, and used annu-

[1] *Eton Register.*

[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. pp. 744—746.

[3] *Eton Audit Books*, 1612—1614. The entries about this plate and tapestry are too long to be inserted here verbatim. The hall-mark on the former is London, 1610—1611.

ally to be hung at the west end of the hall above the dais, at election-tide, until 1858. The subjects embroidered on it are the Flight into Egypt, and Christ among the Doctors.[1]

Ewer and Dish bought in 1613.

The Fellow who was entrusted with the choice of the plate and tapestry was a certain William Charke, who gave a good deal of trouble in his day by a persistent opposition to everything which, in his opinion, in any way savoured of Romanism. In 1572 he had scandalized the University of Cambridge by maintaining in a Latin sermon that "The offices of bishop, archbishop, metropolitan, patriarch, and pope

[1] Radclyffe's *Memorials of Eton.*

were introduced into the Church by Satan." When summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and other Heads of Houses, he absolutely refused to retract or to qualify this very sweeping proposition, and was therefore expelled from the University, according to the Statutes.[1] An appeal to Lord Burleigh had no effect at the time, but it may have been through his influence that Charke obtained a Fellowship at Eton in 1599. He cannot have modified his views, for on the 5th of December, 1610, we find Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, writing to Sir Henry Savile :—

"I promised you to see Eaton before the end of this session of Parlament, and purposed it beefore Christmas; but the adjournaments of o^r^ meeting are so frequent and uncertein, that I can not pick out a sett time for that journey; wch for yor owne and yor Chrysostom's sake I would very gladly speede. Yet I confesse truly unto you, I am the more loth as yet to come, because there are some thinges there complayned of to mee, wch you by yor wisdome may reforme beefore my coming. Mr Chark his exorbitant unconformitee, both to the Church Canons and the College Statutes (to wch either he is or must bee sworne) is much repined at, and I am blamed for suffring it. Advise him presently to conforme himself fully to both, or els I must not come (wch I rath^r^ would) as a frend to see *you*, but as a visitor to censure *him*."[2]

The Bishop wrote again four days later, telling Savile that Charke had called on him, and excused himself by saying that he had not been summoned to conform by the Provost and Fellows. "Hee putts his *Perjury* upon your connivence."[3] Savile certainly had no kind of sympathy with Puritanism, and probably took

[1] Heywood and Wright's *Cambridge Transactions during the Puritan Period*, vol. i. pp. 123—133.

[2] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiii. f. 13.

[3] *Ibid.* f. 14.

Charke to task after this warning, for the latter continued to hold his Fellowship until 1617.[1]

The Fellows who were elected through Savile's own influence were men of a very different stamp. He fully realized the fact that Henry VI. had intended his noble foundation to be something more than a mere grammar-school, and he did his best to make the College one of the most learned societies in Europe. Thomas Allen, who was elected to succeed John Chamber in 1604, wrote some of the notes to the edition of Chrysostom, and stood high in the Provost's estimation. He was tutor to Henry Hammond, who, while at Eton,

> "loved to steal away
> Far from loud boyish sports, in solitude to pray."[2]

Thomas Savile, a younger brother of the Provost, who had travelled in many countries, and was an intimate friend and correspondent of William Camden, was admitted Fellow in 1613.[3] The same year witnessed the election of Richard Mountague, and of the "ever-memorable" John Hales, whom we shall have occasion to mention at some length in the next chapter.

Mountague has already been noticed in connection with the Greek press at Eton, and indeed he is said to have revised the proof sheets of the works of St. Chrysostom. Laud describes him as "a very good scholar, and a right honest man, a man every way able to do God, his Majesty, and the Church of England great service." James I.—no mean judge—considered him competent to enter the lists against such formidable opponents as Cardinal Baronius and John Selden, at different times. The last years of Mountague's life were spent in what he describes as the effort "to stand

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. iii.
[2] *Eton Bureau*, p. 97.
[3] Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, vol. v. pp. 112—114.

in the gapp against Puritanisme and Popery, the Scilla and Charybdis of antient piety."[1] No sooner had he parried a thrust on the one side than he had to defend himself on the other. A sermon preached by him, as Canon of Windsor, before the King, in 1621, aroused the suspicions of the Puritan party, who accused him of supporting the Invocation of Saints. His vindication of the sermon showed that he was not to be daunted by threats, and he wrote to his friend Cosin :—

"*Me temerarium*, that provokes enimyes on all sides, Puritans, Papists, Lawyers, hell and all. '*Dulychii Samiique et quos tulit alta Zacynthus, Turba ruunt in me.*'

"So you heare, so you say . . . . I am redy not only to be bound but σὺν Θεῷ to dye for the Church . . . . I shall never faile the Church of England but *usque ad aras* do my best to uphold the doctrine and discipline ther."[2]

Three years later, Mountague fell into controversy with the Romanists in consequence of his having found some of their emissaries attempting to make proselytes in his county parish. Fuller says of him, that "his great parts were attended with a tartness of writing; very sharp the nib of his pen, and much gall mingled in his ink, against such as opposed him. However, such the equability of the sharpness of his style, he was impartial therein; be he ancient or modern writer, papist or protestant, that stood in his way, they should all equally taste thereof."[3] In speaking of the Roman "Gag for the New Gospell," Mountague says, "answere it I have . . . . bitterly and tartly I confesse, which I did purposely, because the asse deserved so to be rub'd."[4] It so happened, however, that his mode of conducting

[1] *Cosin's Correspondence* (*Surtees Society*), vol. i. p. 21.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 9—10.

[3] *Church History*, Book xi. c. 7.

[4] *Cosin's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 33.

the controversy infuriated the Puritans even more than his Romanist antagonists, as he surrendered, without a blow, many positions which had hitherto been warmly contested. Like the earlier English Reformers he appealed to Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Primitive Church and General Councils, but he did so with a wider knowledge of Patristic theology than any of them had possessed. He refused to brand the Pope as Antichrist; he defended the use of the sign of the Cross, of images, and of auricular confession; and he maintained high views as to the efficacy of the Sacraments. The first Parliament of Charles I. took upon itself to censure a book by him, entitled, "*Apello Cæsarem*," and bound him to find security for his appearance, in the large sum of 2,000*l.* On the other hand, the committee of bishops, to whom some of his works were referred, declared that he had "not affirmed anything to be the doctrine of the Church of England, but that which, in our opinion is the doctrine of the Church of England, or agreeable thereunto."[1] Mountague was protected from his enemies by the influence of the King, and by the dissolution of Parliament. His utter repudiation of Calvinism would, at one time, have got him into trouble at Court, but, such is the irony of fate, he was appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1628, on the death of Carleton, who had been the representative of James I. at the Synod of Dort! This was four years after his resignation of the Eton Fellowship, and thus we must take leave of him.[2]

Sir Henry Savile did not live long enough to carry out his intention of securing a Fellowship for John Boys, one of his fellow-labourers in the translation of the Bible, and in the edition of St. Chrysostom. All

[1] *Harl. MS.* 7000. [2] *Biographia Britannica, Laud's Works.*

that Boys received for his pains in the latter was a copy of the work.[1] Savile persuaded the College to grant 5*l.* to another of his assistants, "Mr. Andrewe Downes, Professor of the Greeke tounge in Cambridge,"[2] and 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* "to Chrysanthus, Bishopp of Lacedæmonia, in Greece,"[3] who may have been attracted to Eton by the fame of the scholars there. The Fellows had less sympathy with a "Spanish gent voluntarily exiling himselfe for the Gospell (as he said)" and only gave him 10*s.*[4] The revenue was then in a flourishing condition, and in 1610 Eton College was able to make a loan of 300*l.* to Merton College.[5] But here we must notice the beginning of the system of dividing up the annual surplus between the principal members of the College. In 1617 the distributions under this head amounted to more than 400*l.*

The School, too, was in high repute. Casaubon, who was the guest of Sir Henry Savile on several occasions, secured a place on the foundation for his son Meric in 1610.[6] At the election of 1613, there were more than a hundred candidates for admission,[7] and the Provost was importuned on all sides by anxious parents. Two years later we hear of a payment "to Thomas Wright, joyner, for a little table to lanthen the Commensalls table in the hall, their number being gretter than before could sett at it."[8] There were then about twenty-eight of these independent students at the second table, and about half that number at the third, though the charges

[1] Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, vol. v. pp. 118—120.
[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1611—1612.
[3] *Ibid.* 1609—1610.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Pattison's *Isaac Casaubon*, pp. 389, 397, 419, 436, and Beloe.
[7] *Domestic State Papers*, James I. vol. lxxiv. No. 33.
[8] *Eton Audit Book*, 1614—1615.

for board had been nearly trebled in the course of sixty years. In 1613, the Commensals at the third table had to pay 3*s.* 6*d.* a week, and those at the second table as much as 5*s.* 6*d.* Young Lord Wriothesley (afterwards created Earl of Chichester) lived more luxuriously, and kept a page to wait on him.[1] Their board cost about 11*s.* a week, but the total expense of a Commensal's education in the reign of James I. appears greater than that of an Oppidan in the reign of Victoria, when we allow for the change in the purchasing-power of money. Con. O'Neil, son of the "Arch-Rebel," the Earl of Tyrone, was at Eton in 1616 and 1617, with two or more servants; and the Head-Master's bills, which were paid by the Government, came to about 90*l.* a year.[2] Among the Commensals at the second table we may notice the name of Philip Lytton, a younger son of Sir Rowland Lytton, of Knebworth. In a letter written on the 29th of December, 1608, in the Christmas holidays, Dudley Carleton says:—

"Phil Litton is well, and in commons in the hall, though all his camarades be dispersed. His schoolmaster made a complaint unto me that he was too daintie mouthed and could eat no beefe, but he answeares the matter well. *Verum est.* When I was at Mr. Aldens . . . . . I had better meat."[3]

The Mr. Alden mentioned was evidently Mordecai Aldem, one of the Fellows. It was the custom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the Provost and Fellows to have one or two boys lodging in their houses.[4] A year later, Carleton was able to send a better account of young Lytton:—

[1] *Eton Audit Books*, 1612–1620.

[2] Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 184, 189, 210.

[3] *Domestic State Papers*, James I. vol. xxxviii. No. 67.

[4] The *Inventories* at Eton mention beds for scholars in the houses of the various Fellows.

"I have delivered 5*l.* to Do^r^ Langlie for Phill Lytton whereof 1*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* goeth to discharge the last quarter, the rest remaines in hand against the next payment. Some bookes he desires which I have wisht him to write for to his father, and itt will give him goode encoragement yf he be allowed them. He hath stept a forme higher at this Christmas remove, and is now under the schoolemasters tuition who gives him his goode word for his good proceeding *tam doctrina quam moribus*."[1]

This Dr. Langley was a pluralist, and, as such, the cause of much distress to the Visitor of the College. In the same letter in which he complained to Sir Henry Savile about Charke's nonconformity, Bishop Barlow says:—

"I will not, neither must I, winke at such palpable Non-residence, so wilfull and so offensive as I understand yor Schoolemaster is guilty of; who having two rich Benefices (as I am informed) farr distant from his Schoole, and beeing a D^r^ of Divinity, continueth the teaching of children, and neglecteth his principall charge which are the soules of his people. This I tell you is an apostemated ulcer, and breaketh out by the mouthes of those that love not the Church, to the scandall of our profession; to your blame and my reproofe who heare of it oftner then I would and in places where I would wish it were silenced."[2]

The Provost's answer to this letter is missing, but it is clear that he pleaded Langley's industry and aptitude for teaching, as a reason, for retaining him at Eton. The Bishop retorted that the tenure of the office of Head-Master by a Doctor of Divinity was forbidden by the Statutes of Henry VI., by implication, if not in express terms:—

"*Faciam vos Piscatores hominum*, did so farr sway wth that devoute Founder's religious minde, that hee little thought any

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, James I. vol. lii. No. 9.

[2] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiii. f. 13.

man would have been either so covetous for wealth or so stooping in conceite, as from an *Interpreter of the Holy Ghost*, to become an expositor of profane Poets."[1]

Soon after this, Sir Henry Savile fell ill, but on his recovery in July 1611, the Bishop returned to the charge, saying that it was a disgrace to a Doctor of Divinity to be "hired and removeable." The King and Archbishop had resolved "to call men to their local and personal residence upon their benefices," so Langley's proceedings could no longer be ignored :—

"*Is not this the sparing of Agag because he was a comely person?* . . . . His churches have neede of him, send him to his charge; his vertues for example, his sufficiency for learning, can not bee too greate nor too good for God's people."[2]

The Bishop ended his letter with a threat of a formal Visitation, so Sir Henry Savile lost no time in sending Dr. Langley to argue his own case.[3] The Bishop, however, was inexorable, and after the interview, wrote to say that the cause of scandal must absolutely be removed :—

"I do assure you if ther be a Parlament we shall not be able to justify his stay either wth yor credit or mine, besides o^{r} duty to God & the King; if from thence he should be preferred to ye best Deanry in England, I should well like it, for I affect ye man as much as you; but in this case I am not able to yeild his desire. *Id possumus, quod jure possumus* is a sound rule in law."[4]

Dr. Langley was accordingly summoned to appear before the Provost and Fellows, and, as he still refused to resign his place, he received formal notice that his services would not be required after the following

[1] *Lambeth MS.* f. 14. Dec. 9, 1610.
[2] *Ibid.* f. 17. July 16, 1611.
[3] *Ibid.* f. 21.
[4] *Ibid.* f. 22. August 1611.

Lady Day.[1] The position of a Head-Master under sentence of dismissal is not pleasant, as Langley must have found, for he soon declared his willingness to go at once.[2] He seems to have made a good bargain with the College, obtaining the full salary up to Lady Day,[3] though he left Eton in the preceding August or September.

The dismissal of Dr. Langley did not put an end to the correspondence between Bishop Barlow and Sir Henry Savile, as difficulties arose about the choice of a new Head-Master. The Bishop was anxious that the vacant post should be offered to some Kingsman,[4] but the Provost insisted on promoting Richard Wright the Usher, who was an alien.[5] Then the Bishop wrote to say that the new Usher must be a bachelor and a layman :—

"As for the Usher to be a *Presbyter*, though *unmarried*, I marveill that it should bee once thought of amongst you for doo you not take it a grosse abasing of our Sacred Function, that a *Priest* should either bee, or bee entituled an *hostiarius* . . . . Gód's glory is never better meinteined then where dead mens wills are truly executed, not crossing His Will."[6]

Richard Wright was elected to a Fellowship when he had been Head-Master only two months, and then the Provost appointed a Kingsman—Matthew Bust, junior—though expressly declaring that this qualification had not influenced him in any way.[7] The new Usher, William Otes, was also a Kingsman, so when Sir Henry Savile wrote to announce these changes to

[1] *Lambeth MS.* f. 20. August 1611.
[2] *Ibid.* f. 23. Sept. 16, 1611.
[3] *Eton Audit Book*, 1611—1612.
[4] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiii. f. 22.
[5] *Ibid.* ff. 23, 26.
[6] *Ibid.* f. 25. Oct. 1, 1611.
[7] *Ibid.* f. 26.

Sir Dudley Carleton, he added sarcastically, "I hope I have pleased those of K. Coll. now, at lest I have pleased myself!"[1]

It will easily be believed that the study of Greek made considerable progress at Eton under Savile's auspices, and we have already noticed several small books in that language which he caused to be printed there for use in the School. To his influence we may safely ascribe the introduction of a text-book, compiled by his friend William Camden, Head-Master of Westminster, which, after being superseded at that school about 1650 by Busby's Grammar, came to be known as the "Eton Greek Grammar," and has survived to our own day.[2] We know nothing about the pastimes of the boys in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., except that a tennis-court was maintained by the College.[3]

The plague appeared at Eton in 1603,[4] and again in 1605 or 1606. On the second occasion, a messenger was sent to convey the news to the Provost, who was on his "progress," or visitation of distant estates belonging to the College.[5] Four years later, the same epidemic broke out at Windsor, and a payment "to Robert Keyne of Eton towards the

[1] *Domestic State Papers*. James I. vol. lxvii. No. 59. November 24, 1611. *Eton Audit Book*, 1610—1611. "Itm paide to Thomas Holdernes going to Cambridge with letres in October last aboute providing an ussher for the schole 5*s*."

[2] Hallam's *Literature of Europe* (1854), vol. i. pp. 330, 518, n.

[3] *Eton Audit Books*, 1600—1601. "Making the tennis-court side." 1602—1603. "Tiling the tennis courte."

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* 1605—1606. "Itm to Mr. Foster supplying the Chaplyn's places in the Church to saie devine servis one moneth in the time of the infection 8*s*." "Itm to Thomas Lewen Mr. Provost man his charges riding to Mr. Provost in Progresse to certifie him of the state of Eton being then visited with the plauge 3*s*. 4*d*."

charges of them that watched in Eton in the tyme of the sickness in Windsor,"[1] may have been connected with an attempt to maintain a *cordon* at the bridge. Mention has already been made of the new buildings in the Stable Yard, and of the repairs in the library, and it only remains for us to say that a new organ-loft was erected in 1613 or 1614.[2] Some slight alterations were made in the Church on the occasion of a visit from James I. in 1611 or 1612.[3]

Sir Henry Savile appears to have been seriously ill in 1617, for we hear of several applications being made in that year for the reversion of the Provostship, Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Dudley Carleton being the most eminent of the candidates. Savile expressed his interest in the cause of the latter;[4] but a more practical friend wrote to enquire how much he might offer for the place, as nothing could be done at Court without money.[5] This was the period at which patents of baronetcy were openly sold. The Provostship was eventually promised to Thomas Murray, who had been tutor and secretary to the Prince of Wales;[6] but he had to wait several years for it. Sir Henry Savile died in February, 162½, and was buried in the Church at Eton, near a wooden statue of the Founder, which used to stand under the easternmost window on the south side.[7] Two years later his widow presented the College with a full-length portrait of him in black robes and a lace ruff, which was at once hung in the

[1] *Eton Audit Books*, 1609—1610. A messenger was also sent to the Provost at Oxford.
[2] *Ibid.* 1613—1614.
[3] *Ibid.* 1611—1612.
[4] *Domestic State Papers*, James I. vol. xciii. Nos. 74, 153.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. xcii. No. 43.
[6] *Ibid.* No. 49.
[7] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 533.

most appropriate place—the library.[1] It is now a conspicuous object in the Provost's dining-room, and fully confirms Aubrey's statement that Savile "was an extraordinary handsome man; no lady had a finer complexion."[2]

James I. guarded against any unexpected action on the part of the Fellows by writing more than a week before Sir Henry Savile's death to order them to suspend the election until his pleasure should be declared.[3] It was already well-known, however, that he had made his choice. John Williams, who was then Lord Keeper as well as Bishop of Lincoln, made a creditable though feeble attempt to divert the King from his purpose. He could fairly urge that Murray was triply unqualified—as not being an Englishman, a graduate, or a priest. On the 23rd of February, he wrote to the Duke of Buckingham :—

"This is altogether differing from a Deanery or an Hospital, which, being Livings, without cure, have been and may be, justly confer'd by his Majesty on Laymen with dispensation *de non promovendo*. If Sir Henry Savil's example be objected, I answer . . . . that Savil never durst take true possession of ye place, but was only slipt in by ye Bishop (who for fear of ye Earl of Essex made bold with ye conscience) *ad curam et regimen Collegii*."

The Bishop adds that Murray had just called on him, but could not be persuaded to enter holy orders. "I schooled him soundly against Puritanism which he

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1623—1624. "To the Joyner for deales and workemanshipp in lyneing Sr Hen Savile's picture in the liberary given by the Lady Savile 5*s*."

[2] *Letters of Eminent Persons*, vol. ii. p. 525.

[3] *Eton Register*, vol. iii. f. 34. February 10, 1621.

disavows, though somewhat faintly."[1] This letter must have arrived too late, for a royal letter to the Fellows and a dispensation in favour of Murray are also dated the 23rd of February.[2] The Fellows lost no time in obeying the King's instructions; but Bishop Williams was very tenacious of his own rights as Visitor of the College, and on the 26th of the same month, he wrote to say that the proceedings had been informal in several particulars, and could not be recognized by him as valid. He therefore ordered the Fellows to meet at 8 A.M. to read over the royal dispensation, and to elect Murray to an eighth Fellowship, and then to adjourn till 3 P.M., when, "reading first the King's gracious letres. wch you are to terme letres of recomandacons and not mandates," they might elect Murray as Provost. They were specially cautioned against using the word "admitting," which denoted the proper function of the Visitor, and ordered "to blotte it or raze it owt" of the College Register if it had been used at the informal election.[3] The Bishop carried his point, enforced a new election on the 28th of February,[4] and "admitted" Murray on the 2nd of the following month. He was less successful in a controversy with the College a few weeks later, about a Fellowship which fell vacant. He imagined that the right of nomination in this instance had lapsed to him as Visitor, and he accordingly promised the place to John Hacket, at that time his Chaplain, and afterwards his biographer. However, when the Provost and Fellows met in the "Chappel"[5] for the election,

[1] *Cabala*, p. 289.
[2] *Eton Register*, vol. iii. f. 34.
[3] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiv. f. 106.
[4] *Eton Register*, vol. iii. f. 35.
[5] This is, we believe, the earliest instance in which the Collegiate Church of Eton is styled

Hacket, being quite unknown to them, only received one vote. Another candidate was rejected on account of his youth, and finally John Smyth, of King's College, was chosen Fellow by five votes. This fairly drove the Bishop into a rage. He declared that his nominee had been slighted "in a meere faction and opposition;" he refused to admit Smyth; and he threatened that he would have the number of Fellowships made up to ten, as ordered by the Founder. He boasted, moreover, that many of the Fellows were entirely at his mercy "by reason of forfeiture of their places. For having no dispensacion they have annext ecclesiasticall livings to their places above statuteable valew, for the dispensacion given by Queene Elizabeth beeing personall & from hirselfe *moritur cum persona*, and since hir death hath beene of no validity."

The Fellows replied that Elizabeth's dispensation had been granted by her for herself and her successors, and that its authority had never yet been questioned. They offered no objection to the increase in the number of Fellowships, provided that the lands taken away by Edward IV., worth "above a thousand marks per annum of old rents," were first restored.[1] The Bishop had to give way; John Smyth retained his Fellowship till 1635; and Hacket never obtained a place at Eton.

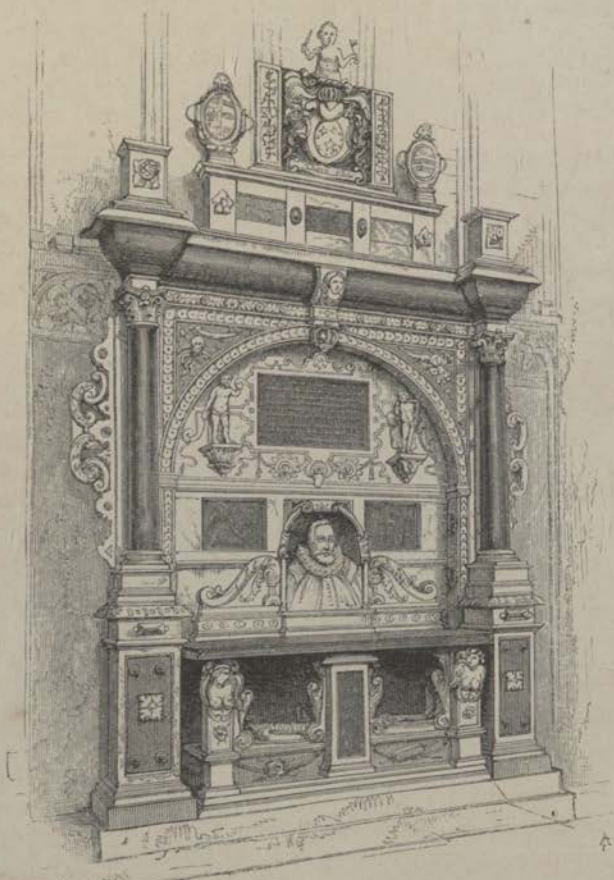
Thomas Murray died from the effects of a painful operation within fourteen months after his election to the Provostship. He was buried in the Church and a pompous monument, elaborately painted and gilded,

a "Chapel." The older and more correct designation was not unfrequently used in common parlance till about fifty years ago, and has always been retained in legal documents.

[1] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxi. ff. 179, 182, and vol. dclxiv. f. 113.

was erected in his memory, opposite to the simple epitaph of his illustrious predecessor; but

> "Pygmies are pygmies still, though perched on Alps;
> And pyramids are pyramids in vales;
> Each man makes his own stature, builds himself:
> Virtue alone outbuilds the Pyramids:
> Her monuments shall last when Egypt's fall."



Monument of Provost Murray.

1623-1639.

Contest for the Provostship—Lord Bacon—Sir Henry Wotton—Pillars in the Schoolroom—Thomas Weaver—Robert Boyle—Prosperous Condition of the School—Contest for Fellowships—The "Ever-memorable" John Hales.

THE hopeless character of Murray's illness became known in London nearly two months before his death, and gave rise to a long and keen competition for the Provostship. Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Dudley Carleton renewed their former applications, and the number of candidates soon increased to seven—all laymen, and all of at the least knightly rank. Foremost among them was the ex-Chancellor, Lord St. Albans. When staying at the Lodge in the days of his prosperity,[1] Bacon would have found it hard to believe that he himself would soon stoop to be a suppliant for the post then occupied by his friend and host, Sir Henry Savile. But now, feeling that his political career was for ever closed, he was anxious to obtain some other employment, of a safer and less ambitious character. With this object he addressed a petition to the King,[2]

[1] *Lord Bacon's Letters*, 1702, p. 54.

[2] *Domestic State Papers*. James I. vol. cxl. No. 32.

and at the same time besought the assistance of the Secretary of State, Sir Edward Conway, to whom he wrote :—

"Mr. Thom[s] Murray Provost of Eton, whome I love very well is like to dye. It were a prety Cell for my fortune. The College and[1] I choose I doe not dout but I shall make to flowrysh. His M[ajesty] whom I wayted on sins, tooke notice of my wants, and said to me that as he was a King he would have care of me. This is a thing somebody must have, and costs his M. nothing."[2]

This last point is twice dwelt upon in Bacon's letter to the King, and would give a hint, if any were needed, of the ill-furnished condition of the royal coffers. Conway answered two days later that the Provostship had already been promised to Sir William Beecher, Clerk of the Privy Council, but that if his claims could be satisfied in any other way, Bacon's request should be granted.[3] With this answer the latter seems to have been fairly satisfied, for he wrote again on the 29th of March :—

"I am much comforted by your last letter, whearin I fynd that his M. of his great goodnesse vouchsafeth to have a care of me, a man owt of sight and owt of use, but yet his (as the Scripture saieth, God knowes those that are his). . . . . Thear will hardly fall (specially in the spent howreglass of such a life as myne) anything so fitt for me, being a retreat to a place of study, so near London, and whear (if I sell my house at Gorhambury, as I purpose to do to putt myself into some convenient plenty) I may be accomodated of a dwelling in the summer tyme."[4]

In both these letters Bacon took care to assure Conway that his candidature would receive the support of the

[1] and = if.
[2] *Domestic State Papers.* James I. vol. cxl. No. 33.
[3] *Ibid.* No. 44.
[4] *Ibid.* No. 59.

Marquis of Buckingham. The allusions to this arrogant favourite are significant, for in all matters of patronage his influence was supreme. Buckingham was then absent with "Baby Charles" on his ill-starred expedition to Spain, but he received the intelligence of Murray's death from the Lord Keeper Williams, who wrote :—

"The place is stayed by the Fellows and myself, untill your lordship's pleasure be known. Whomsoever your lordship shall name, I shall like of, even should it be Sir William Beecher, though the Provostship never descended so low. The King named unto me yesterday Sir Albertus Morton, Sir Dudley Carleton, and Sir Robert Ayton, our late queen's secretary; but in my opinion though he named him last, his Majesty inclined to this Ayton most. It will rest wholly with your lordship to name the man. It is somewhat necessary to be a good scholar, but more that he be a good husband and a careful manager, and a stayed man, which no man can be that is so much indebted as my Lord St. Albans."[1]

Towards the end of April, Sir Ralph Freeman, a Master of Requests, was considered to have the best chance of obtaining the Provostship,[2] though Ayton was said to have offered to barter his pension of 500*l.* for it.[3] In the absence of Buckingham, however, nothing could be settled. The situation of affairs at Court is well described by the Countess of Bedford, who writes to tell Carleton that "those that are nearest the well-head, know not with what bucket to draw for themselves or their friends."[4]

Time went on, but Buckingham remained in Spain, so the Vice-Provost received permission from the

[1] Ackerman's *History of Eton*, p. 50.

[2] *Domestic State Papers*. James I. vol. cxliii. No. 62.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. cxliv. No. 27.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. cxliii. No. 63.

King to transact College business, and to seal leases,[1] while the profits arising from the vacant post were enjoyed by the widow of the late Provost.[2] Mrs. Murray must have appreciated her position at Eton, and have found the Lodge a pleasant residence, for rumour said that she was quite willing to remain there as the wife of Sir Robert Ayton, if he succeeded in obtaining the Provostship.[3]

Bacon sent in a final but fruitless application to Sir Edward Conway in September, protesting that he was able to "doe as much good to the College as another, be it square capp or round."[4]

Buckingham returned to England in October, 1623, and was fairly tormented by the importunities of the rival candidates.[5] One of them, Sir Henry Wotton, took the earliest opportunity of sending him some pictures which he had purchased for him at Venice on commission,[6] but which were at the time erroneously supposed to be a present, or rather a bribe.[7] It is quite clear, however, that Wotton did everything in his power to ingratiate himself with the Duke, and he finally succeeded in obtaining the Provostship, on surrendering his reversion of the Mastership of the Rolls to Sir Ralph Freeman, who in turn yielded his place to Sir William Beecher.[8] Fourteen months elapsed between the death of Murray and the election of Wotton, which took place on the 24th of June, 1623,[9] four days after the issue of a royal mandate in his

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, James I., vol. cl. No. 52.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 51, and clx. No. 58.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. clx. No. 58.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. clii. No. 12.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. cliii. No. 32, and vol. cliv. No. 19.
[6] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (1672) p. 316.
[7] *Domestic State Papers*, vol. clxi. No. 49.
[8] *Ibid.* vol. clviii. No. 72, and vol. clxii. No. 13.
[9] *Eton Register*, vol. iii.

favour.[1] He was formally admitted on the 26th,[2] but went down to Eton so ill-provided with money that "the Fellows were fain to furnish his bare walls."[3] He soon managed to procure 500*l.* out of the arrears owing to him by the State, and so settled down quietly in his new house, which was, "to his mind, as a quiet harbour to a seafaring man after a tempestuous voyage; where by the bounty of the pious Founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided in kind; where he was free from corroding cares, and seated on such a rock, as the waves of want could not possibly shake."[4]

In spite of this, Wotton never succeeded in freeing himself from the debts with which he was burdened. Some of these were, doubtless, contracted abroad in the public service, and up to the time of his death he had claims on the Exchequer,[5] but for others he must be held personally responsible. Walton styles him an "undervaluer of money" in a well-known passage in the "Complete Angler," which may be coupled with another in the "Lives," where he is described as "being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words, 'Care not for the morrow' were to be literally understood." The emoluments of the Provostship certainly did not satisfy Wotton's wants, and he speaks of it as "never before subsisting in the memory of man without some addition."[6] In 1628 we find him asking the King to grant him the "next good

[1] The *mandamus* is printed at length in Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i.

[2] *Eton Register*, vol. iii.

[3] *Domestic State Papers*. James I., vol. clxxi. No. 25. The *Eton Audit Book*, 1624—1625, records a payment "to Mr. Provost by consent at the end of the Auditt 1624, towards the furnyture of his lodginge 40*l.*"

[4] Walton.

[5] See his will in Walton.

[6] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 340.

Deanery,"[1] and some years later he applied for the Mastership of the Savoy, as likely to afford him a convenient residence in London.[2] Isaac Walton's biography of Wotton is so deservedly popular, that it would be superfluous to attempt more than the briefest account of his career previous to his appointment as Provost. Etonians have special grounds for lamenting that the same writer did not carry out his projected Lives of Sir Henry Savile, and "the ever-memorable" John Hales.[3]

Henry Wotton was descended from a gentle Kentish family, several members of which had served their country with distinction in various capacities. He was educated at Winchester, and at New College, Oxford, whence he subsequently removed to Queen's. After leaving the University, he travelled for nine years, studying the laws and languages of the countries through which he passed. Returning to England, he was appointed Secretary to the Earl of Essex; but on the fall of that nobleman he thought it prudent to quit England, and so remained abroad, chiefly at Florence, until after the death of Elizabeth. He rose into high favour with the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, and was selected by him to forewarn James VI. of Scotland of a dangerous plot against his life. Assuming the dress and name of an Italian, and taking a circuitous route in order to avoid England, Wotton reached Stirling in safety, and delivered his message to the King in person. This good service was not forgotten by James, who, soon after his accession to the English throne, recalled Wotton from the Continent, embraced him cordially, and dubbed him a knight. Wotton's discretion, and

[1] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 564.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 340.
[3] *Life of Walton* prefixed to the *Complete Angler*.

his fluency in foreign languages, seemed to mark him out for a diplomatic career. He was accordingly entrusted with a succession of special missions, including four to Venice, two to Savoy, and one to the Emperor Ferdinand. He does not appear to have held his profession in high esteem, and very nearly fell into disgrace for writing the following definition in a German album :—

"*Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causa.*"

Walton would have us believe that the meaning intended was :—"An Ambassador is an honest man sent to *lie*[1] abroad for the good of his country," though it is obvious that there is no *double-entendre* in the Latin, or corresponding German. When a would-be diplomatist applied to Wotton for advice, he was told to "speak the truth" on all occasions. "For," said he, "you shall never be believed; and by this means your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any account; and 'twill put your adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a losse in all their disquisitions and undertakings."

Soon after his election to the Provostship of Eton, Sir Henry Wotton decided on taking deacon's orders, his chief reason for doing so, according to his own as well as his biographer's account, being a laudable desire to comply with the Statutes. But, with a conscience so tender on this point, it seems strange that he should have been content to remain merely "in the porch of God's house" instead of entering priest's orders, as clearly enjoined by Henry VI. In announcing this step to King Charles, he expressed a hope that his example would encourage young

[1] lie = reside.

scholars of good family to join the ranks of the clergy.[1]

Isaac Walton has given us many interesting details of his friend's mode of life at Eton. After attending the daily service, Wotton used to devote several hours of the forenoon to the study of divinity, to meditation, and to private prayer. "But when he was once sate to dinner, then nothing but chearful thoughts possessed his mind; and those still increased by constant company at his table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure," and "where his meat was choice and his discourse better." Some portions of every day were given to philosophy or to literature. Wotton projected several important works, but he did not bring any of them to completion. A Life of Martin Luther was laid aside, at the request of Charles I., for a History of England; but for this history, only a few sketches of characters were ever drawn out,[2] and his literary reputation rests chiefly on a "Treatise on Architecture" written some years previously, and on his Poems. One of the best known of these relates to his favourite pursuit of fishing, which was one of the chief points of sympathy between Wotton and Walton. The two friends spent many summer hours together at Black Potts on the Thames just below the Playing Fields, still a frequent resort of the fish. Wotton used to say that angling was "an employment for his idle time, which was then not idly spent; for angling was, after a tedious study, a rest to his mind, a cheerer of his spirits, a divester of sadness, a calmer of unquiet thoughts, a moderator of passions, a procurer of contentedness,"

[1] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (1672), pp. 327, 328.

[2] Walton's *Lives*.

and that it "begat habits of peace and patience in those that professed and practised it."[1] So keen was he for this sport, that he used to say that "he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers."

Oak Tree in the Playing Fields.

It must not be supposed from this account of Wotton's occupations and pleasures that he neglected the interests of Eton. "He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning," and "was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals." "He

[1] Walton's *Complete Angler*.

would never leave the school without dropping some choyce Greek or Latine apothegme or sentence; such as were worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar." "He used specially to urge the boys not to neglect rhetorick, because Almighty God hath left mankind affections to be wrought upon." "He caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators," and set them up in the school, as a means of inducing the boys to take an intelligent interest in their lessons. The double row of wooden pillars from which they were suspended was erected at this time, probably in order to support the Long Chamber above. Sir Henry Wotton had acquired a taste for Italian architecture in the course of his travels, so he took care these pillars and other woodwork at Eton should not be executed in a style which he stigmatized as "Gothic."

The following note, written at the beginning of a Hebrew Bible in the Eton library,[1] records another act of private munificence :—

"Anno Dñni 1625.

Thomas Wever Fellow of Eton, erected & built in the Collegiate Church ther, one great frame of Tymber under ye great Arch in the west end of the s^d^ Church carved wth the armes of King Henerie the Sixt of Famous memorie fownder of the two Colledges ye one in Eton & the other in Cambridg, wth ye armes of Queene Elizabeth (a second Fownder & preserver of Colledges by enacting ye Statute of Provision), the armes of ye two Universities, & the armes of ye Coll of Eton & ye Kings Coll, in Cambridge, & diverse other Armes. He gave a Comunion Cupp guilded, worth xx markes and sett up a Communion Table. He sett up seates for ye Oppidans, &

[1] Bomberg's *Pentateuch*. Shelf D. c. 9.

LOWER SCHOOL.

the great Pew under ye Pulpitt for the use of ye Fellowes Scholm^r^ & their Families. He gave fowre strong Formes to stand in ye Iles of ye Church for the Townemen to sitt on. He gave two deskes graven wth ye Coll armes for ye Fellowes to read Prayers. He adorned the deskes for ye clerks. He translated ye vestrie, built ye Portall. He repaired ye seat in Dr. Lupton's Chappell & sett up a presse ther to laye up ye Songe books. He repared ye seates & pewes on ye north & south sides of ye Church besides diverse other things. The Colledg alowed him towards ye work six loades of rough Tymber. Anno dñi 1625.

Laus Deo."

The College also paid "for guiltinge the Cross upon the new worke in the Church."[1] Nothing now remains of all this, except possibly the seats in the nave (or ante-chapel), which look as if they might have been executed about this period. Thomas Weaver took a great interest in the manufacture of wood-work, and was the donor of the stalls and panelling which still exist in the Chapel of King's College.[2] We may easily believe that there was some truth in two of the accusations made against him at Archbishop Laud's Visitation of Eton in 1634, by the Chaplains and Clerks who deposed that he had made a sawpit in the churchyard, and that he had once shortened morning prayer on a holy-day so as to have more time "to pull downe a tree." The other charges against Weaver were, that he was irregular in his attendance at church on the week days, and that he often omitted the prayer for the King.[3] However, his munificence to the Church, and his subsequent deprivation, seem to show

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1623—1624.

[2] Cooper's *Memorials of Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 213.

[3] Answers to Laud's Visitation Articles 1635, printed by the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*. Fourth Report, pp. 147—148.

that he could not have been either a Puritan or a Republican.

The seats of the Provost and Vice-Provost in the Church were probably more pompous than beautiful, as we hear of their having windows made of oak, but painted over.[1] Some altar-rails were set up about this period in conformity to the wishes of Laud and other bishops.[2] One of the bells was called "the Saints' bell," but it can have had little connection with the *Sanctus* bell of older days.[3] A stone staircase was substituted for the old wooden one in 1625,[4] but several payments recorded under the Church expenses at this period for "destroying the starres," must refer to starlings rather than stairs, as "powder and shot" would hardly have been employed against the latter.[5] Another troublesome intruder was a dog, who was said to have broken several windows in the vestry and in Lupton's Chapel; but the extent of the damage was so great, that we may reasonably suspect that some mischievous biped must have been the real offender.[6] We meet with charges for oaken bars for the windows every year at this period.

One of the most distinguished Etonians of the seventeenth century, the Hon. Robert Boyle, has left some account of his school-days in the autobio-

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1624—1625. "Alteringe the waynescott wyndowes in the Provosts and Vice Provosts seates," &c.

[2] *Ibid.* 1631—1632. "New paintynge the pale about the communyon table." These rails were removed to Burnham Church, after the alterations at Eton in 1700.

[3] *Ibid.* 1634—1635. "For iiij^{or} pound and a q^{terne} of Rope for the Saynts bell at 12*d.* the pound," &c.

[4] *Eton Audit Book*, 1624—1625.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.* 1632—1633. "To the glasier repayring the windowes in the Church and Luptons Chapple and the vestrie much broken by a dogg left by error there 4*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*"

graphy of "Philaretus." From this it appears that he and his brother, the sons of Lord Cork, were sent to Eton in 1635, Robert the younger being then between eight and nine years of age. They were placed under the special protection of Sir Henry Wotton, who is described as "a person that was not only a fine gentleman himself, but well skilled in the art of making others so." However, they naturally saw less of the Provost than of the Head-Master, John Harrison, with whom Robert Boyle soon became a great favourite, on account of his aptitude for learning. His teacher "would often dispense with his attendance at school at the accustomed hours, to instruct him privately and familiarly in his chamber;" and "would often, as it were, cloy him with fruit and sweetmeats, and those little dainties that age is greedy of, that, by preventing the want, he might lessen both the value and desire of them. He would sometimes give him unasked play-days, and oft bestow upon him such balls and tops and other implements as he had taken away from others that had unduly used them." Harrison used to instruct his pupil in "an affable, kind, and gentle way;" but William Norris, his successor, who was probably less partial in the enforcement of discipline, is styled "a rigid fellow." It appears that instruction was at this period given in mathematics as well as in the dead languages.[1]

Lord Cork's sons were Commensals at the second table, and we are expressly told that the School was "then very much thronged with young nobility." The Audit Books give the names of Sir Francis Fane, Sir Henry Newton, Lord Henry Kerr, and Lord Mordaunt,

[1] *Boyle's Works* (1744), vol. i. pp. 7—9.

among others. The Earl of Northampton had no less than four sons at Eton in 1635, all of whom afterwards distinguished themselves in the Royalist cause. The eldest was called Lord Compton by courtesy, but at school the others were styled Compton *a*, Compton 1, and Compton *minor*, respectively. So too the Boyles were known as Boyle *a* and Boyle 1, the latter being the younger.[1]

The Provost and Fellows had occasion to be watchful over the morals of the Commensals, when a regiment of soldiers was quartered at Eton about this time, in violation of the privileges granted to the College by Henry VI. A remonstrance was at once forwarded to the Duke of Buckingham, then Lord Lieutenant of the county, pointing out the inconvenience caused to "the youth repairing to the Schole, and lodging in the towne, with whom such companie doo not well comport,"[2] and there is every reason to believe that the soldiers were soon removed. The College was not always so tenacious of its rights, for, on several occasions it submitted to the exaction of ship-money,[3] although it had been specially exempted by charter from contributing towards the defence of the kingdom.[4] Even if John Hampden had been legally liable to the demands of the King's agents, Eton would scarcely have been liable. The Provost and Fellows may have looked upon their contribution as a gift to the King.

No visit of Charles I. to the College has been

[1] *Eton Audit Books.*

[2] *Domestic State Papers.* Charles I. vol. cclxxiv. No. 12.

[3] *Eton Audit Book*, 1636—1637. "To his Matie for shipp monie 40*s*." *Ibid.* 1637—1638. "For ship monie for the Colledge lands at Burnham." *Ibid.* "To his Matie for ship monie 3*l*."

[4] Heywood and Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 408, 409.

recorded, but the Queen went there in 1628 or 1629.[1] In November 1631, an entertainment was given to the first Earl of Holland and other noblemen.[2]

Throughout the later part of the reign of James I., and the earlier part of his son's reign, Scholarships at Eton were in the greatest demand. Year after year the Provost was assailed with importunate letters from all sides. Of course, Sir Henry Wotton could not satisfy everybody, and he used to find that each election lost him several friends.[3] In a very characteristic letter he says :—

"We have newly concluded our anniversary business, which hath been the most distracted election that, I verily believe, had ever before been seen, since this nurse first gave milk, through no less than four recommendatory and one Mandatory Letter from the King himself; besides Intercessions and Messengers from divers great Personages for boys both in and out, enough to make us think ourselves shortly Electors of the Empire if it hold on."[4]

While mere Scholarships were thus eagerly sought for, we may readily believe that there was no lack of candidates for any Fellowship that happened to fall vacant.

The parishioners of Windsor, unsuccessful in a petition to James I. in favour of their Vicar, presented

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1628—1629. "To the drawer of the Christopher for certain bottles wherein he brought wyne to the College at the tyme of the Queens cominge, which bottles afterwards could not be found, 3*s.* 6*d.*"

[2] *Ibid.* 1631—1632. "For two gallons and one pinte of Renische wyne brought from London upon expectation of my lord of holands coming viij$^{s.}$ v$^{d.}$" "Lost in retorninge back of the Banquett to the Appoticarie vij$^{s.}$" "Laide out upon the comeinge of Thearle of holland and other nobles to the Colledge, Novemb^{r} xxij^{o}, viz. in sack ij$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$ In clarett wyne iiij$^{s.}$, for 6 tortches v$^{s.}$, in sum xj$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$"

[3] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (1672), p. 557.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 567.

a somewhat similar one to Charles I., requesting him to increase the value of the living by annexing to it some piece of ecclesiastical preferment. The King took the matter into consideration, and finally decided that a Fellowship at Eton should for ever be reserved for the Vicar of Windsor for the time being. The royal commands to this effect were conveyed to the Provost and Fellows in a letter from Archbishop Laud and the Lord Keeper Coventry, dated November 3, 1634. A vacancy occurring in the very next year, John Cleaver, of Windsor, was duly elected, to the great satisfaction of his flock, who caused the Church bells to be rung in honour of the event.[1]

The news of this arrangement was not well received at King's College. Aliens had indeed frequently obtained Fellowships at Eton without opposition, but this new order seemed to threaten the entire subversion of the privileges of the sister foundation. It was obviously difficult, if not impossible, to procure an absolute revocation of the obnoxious decree, and the Provost and Fellows of King's adopted a more judicious course in addressing a petition to the Archbishop, demanding that all future Vicars of Windsor should be elected from among their own body, and thus be qualified to hold Fellowships at Eton.[2] Laud was just commencing a Visitation of his Province,[3] so that the time was opportune for the presentation of certain "Articles of Complaint" on the part of the Kingsmen.

[1] Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. ii. pp. 83, and 108—110, quoting *Ashm. MS.* 1126, f. 86, *b*, and 113, *b*, and *Churchwarden's Accounts*.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4841, ff. 227—8.

[3] The Visitation Articles for Eton College are printed in *Laud's Works* (1847), vol. v. pp. 468—471, and in the Fourth Report of the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, where the answers are also given.

Their principal grievance was the reduction in the number of the Eton Fellowships from ten, as originally ordered, to seven, as then existing. The Kingsmen maintained that the College revenues had not sunk so low as to justify any reduction whatever in numbers, but that even if some such reduction were necessary, it should be made among the Clerks, Choristers, and Scholars rather than among the Fellows. They looked upon Eton as something more than a school. Another complaint was directed against the frequent practice of bestowing Fellowships on Oxford men and other aliens. These matters affected the Kingsmen closely, but they attempted to strengthen their case by introducing other complaints of a more disinterested character, and accordingly espoused the cause of the Scholars, who, they said, were "deprived of breakfasts, clothing, bedding, and all other necessaries, which the Statute amply allows them, and forced to be content with a bare scanty diet and a coarse short gown, whilst the College revenues are shared amongst a few."[1]

The Archbishop heard both parties at some length, with regard to the principal Articles of Complaint, and pronounced his decision in 1636. While admitting the claims of the Kingsmen to be technically correct, and blaming the Eton authorities in several respects, he declared that he could not overlook the "contemporanean exposition, and the practice" of nearly two centuries, which went "quite cross to the Statute." Considering too that Edward IV. had not allowed the College to enjoy all the endowments assigned to it by the Founder, and that the number of actual Fellowships had never exceeded seven, Laud decided that that

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4841, ff. 253—262.

number need not be increased, but that five of these places should for ever be absolutely reserved for members of the sister foundation.[1] This equitable arrangement was not destined to take effect for some time, in consequence of "the confusion of all good order in the time of the Great Rebellion, and the importunity of pretenders to preferment at the King's return."[2] We shall hear more of this controversy in the next chapter.

Queen Elizabeth's letter of dispensation, by which the Fellows were allowed to hold other ecclesiastical preferment, was confirmed by a license granted in 1629, to Daniel Collins, to hold two livings not exceeding the value of 40 marcs a year, in addition to a Prebend at Windsor.[3] Prebends at Windsor were also granted to David Stokes, and under somewhat remarkable circumstances, to John Hales, the only Fellow of Eton at that period who demands any special notice.

John Hales has already been mentioned as the friend and coadjutor of Sir Henry Savile, but it was in the reign of Charles I. that he attained distinction as a member of a brilliant circle of statesmen and authors, who bestowed on him the title "*ever-memorable.*" He owed the epithet less to the extent of his literary works, which only occupy three very small volumes, than to the charm of his conversation and manner. "When the King and Court resided at Windsor, he was much frequented by noblemen and courtiers, who delighted much in his company, not for his severe and retired walks of learning, but for his polite discourses, stories, and poetry." He is mentioned by name in the "Session of Poets," by Sir John Suckling, with whom,

[1] *Laud's Works*, vol. v. p. 497.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4841, f. 236, quoting MS. by Archbishop Sancroft.

[3] *Fœdera* (Sanderson), vol. xix. pp. 66, 67.

as well as with Ben Jonson, Davenant, and Lord Falkland, he was intimate. Clarendon says that he would "once in a year resort to London, only to enjoy their chearful conversation."[1] One of these visits to London and its theatre was perhaps suggested by the rhyming invitation addressed to him by Suckling :—

"Whether these lines do find you out
Putting or clearing of a doubt;
(Whether Predestination,
Or reconciling Three in One,
Or the unridling how men die
And live at once eternally,
Now take you up,) know 'tis decreed
You straight bestride the College steed.
Leave Socinus and the schoolmen
(Which Jack Bond swears do but fool men)
And come to town; 'tis fit you show
Yourself abroad, that men may know
(Whate'er some learned men have guest)
That Oracles are not yet ceased;
There you shall find the wit, and wine,
Flowing alike, and both divine;
Dishes with names not known in books
And less amongst the College cooks,
With sauce so poignant that you need
Not stay till hunger bids you feed."

These were but interludes in a life of deep study. "His industry did strive, if it were possible, to equal the largeness of his capacity, whereby he became as great a master of polite, various, and universal learning as ever yet conversed with books."[2] "He was one of the least men in the kingdom, and one of the greatest scholars in Europe."[3] Sir Henry Wotton used to call him "our *bibliotheca ambulans*."[4]

[1] *Lord Clarendon's Life*, vol. i. p. 79.

[2] Bishop Pearson's Preface to the *Golden Remains*.

[3] *Lord Clarendon's Life*, vol. i. p. 62.

[4] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 475.

Hales was deeply versed in the writings of the early Fathers, from which he made frequent quotations, though he utterly disclaimed their authority in matters of controversy. In his younger days he had been a Calvinist; but the arguments of the Arminian party at the Synod of Dort induced him, as he quaintly expressed it, to "bid John Calvin good-night." Together with the teaching of Episcopius on the five disputed points of Predestination, &c., he imbibed his objections to all dogmatic teaching. Hales himself maintained that universality was no test of the truth of any doctrine; for "universality is but a quainter and trimmer name to signify the multitude;"[1] that liturgies should be purged of "whatever is scandalous to any party," and consist only of "such things as those in which all Christians do agree;"[2] that the power of the keys could be exercised by anybody—by a muleteer as well as by a parish priest;[3] that "the spiritual eating of Christ is common to all places as well as the Lord's Table."[4] Hales assisted his friend Chillingworth in the composition of the celebrated work, "The Religion of Protestants: a Safe way to Salvation."[5] They were both considered apostles of the "Latitudinarian" school, and were both suspected of Socinianism. Hales was aware that the general diffusion of his opinions might have an unsettling effect on the faith of others, "and therefore he was very reserved in communicating what he thought himself on those points in which he differed from what was received."[6] His works were first collected by a divine of more orthodox views—John

[1] *Hales's Works* (1775), vol. iii. p. 164.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 126, 127.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 102.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 62.
[5] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. pp. 410—414.
[6] *Lord Clarendon's Life*, vol. i. p. 60.

Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester—who had been a boy at Eton when Hales was a Fellow. One tract on "Schism" was privately circulated in manuscript during the author's life, and nearly brought him into trouble. A copy of it fell into the hands of Laud, who demanded an explanation. Hales wrote to the Archbishop in defence of his proposition that the Church has no authority in matters of faith, but it is doubtful whether the letter was ever despatched.[1] It would only have been an aggravation of the offence. A stormy interview, however, took place at Lambeth between Laud and Hales, after which the latter acknowledged to Heylin that he "had been ferreted from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further shelter; that he was now resolved to be orthodox, and to declare himself a true son of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline."[2] After this Laud appointed Hales one of his Chaplains, and, as we have said, procured for him a Canonry at Windsor, "unexpected, undesired."[3] The latter accepted the post with reluctance, after much solicitation, "because he really believed he had enough before."[4]

To what extent Hales recanted is, and will probably remain, uncertain.[5] His last writing was a defence of the doctrine of the Trinity. In some at least of his views he had a sympathizer in the Provost, who "was a great enemy of wrangling disputes in religion."[6]

[1] Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary.*

[2] Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicanus*, p. 362.

[3] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 369.

[4] *Lord Clarendon's Life.*

[5] Desmaizeaux is at considerable pains to discredit Heylin's personal narrative of the interview between Hales and Laud, but he does not account for the Archbishop favouring a clergyman who absolutely contradicted one or more of the Thirty-nine Articles, or for Hales's adherence to the dogmatical Liturgy of the Church of England after its proscription.

[6] Walton's *Lives.*

HIC JACET HUJUS SENTENTIÆ PRIMUS AUTHOR
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS FIT ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.
NOMEN ALIAS QUÆRE.

was the simple inscription which Sir Henry Wotton composed for his own tombstone. He died on the 5th of December, 1639, and was buried at Eton near his predecessor.[1] The inscription on the ring which he bequeathed to each of the Fellows—"*Amor unit omnia*"—is in character with his epitaph and his life.

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 358. The stone has since been moved, and now forms part of one of the steps leading into the choir.

Postern Door.

1639—1660.

Provost Steward—Political Troubles—Deprivation of the Provost—Appointment of Francis Rous—Ejectment of the Royalist Fellows—The Engagement—John Hales—Death, and Benefactions of "Lord" Rous—The Puritan Fellows—Provost Lockyer.

CHARLES I. experienced no difficulty in providing a suitable successor to Sir Henry Wotton, and at once wrote to the Fellows in favour of Richard Steward, of All Soul's College, his Clerk of the Closet, who was duly elected on the 28th of December, 1639.[1] The new Provost was a warm adherent of the orthodox Anglican party, as far removed in doctrine from Racow, as from Rome, or Geneva. Clarendon describes him as "a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in that learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the Church, upon which his heart was most entirely set; not without some prejudice to those who thought there was any other object to be more carefully pursued."[2]

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. iii. ff. 47, 48. | [2] *Clarendon's Life*, vol. i. p. 288

Charles I. had the highest opinion of his piety and judgment, and recommended him to the Prince of Wales as a safe guide in matters of religion.[1] At the date of his election to the Provostship, Dr. Steward was Dean of Chichester, and he was afterwards nominated to the Deaneries of St. Paul's and of Westminster successively, but he was never installed in either of these two churches.[2] In 1640, he was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of the memorable Convocation, which attempted to prove its independence by enacting a code of canons, after the dissolution of Parliament.[3] The time for this assertion of ecclesiastical authority was ill chosen, as the Scots were already in arms against the King, and the Puritan faction in England was daily growing in strength and influence.

The children of Charles I. came to visit Eton College in 1640;[4] but two years later their residence at Windsor was seized by the Parliamentary troops.[5] On the outbreak of the civil war, Provost Steward attached himself to the King's person, taking with him the College seal,[6] and probably some of the plate, as the ewer and basin given by Adam Robyns are the only pieces of silver older than this date, which have been preserved at Eton. In his absence no regular elections were held; but nine Scholars were admitted to King's College between 1642 and 1644.[7]

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. pp. 37, 572.

[2] Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

[3] Lathbury's *History of Convocation*.

[4] *Eton Audit Book*, 1639—1640. "Paid out by Mr. Provost for 20 gallons and 3 quarts of high cuntrie wyne at the Princes entertainment at the College 2*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*"

[5] Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. ii. p. 169.

[6] *Eton Register*, vol. iii. f. 51.

[7] *Registrum Regale.*

The election of 1643 was expressly postponed by a royal mandate from Oxford;[1] and another effect of the political troubles, was the gradual abolition of the Commensals.[2] Many of these scholars being the sons of Cavaliers, laid aside their books, and took up arms, while those who did not leave school seem to have begun to board as well as to lodge at the dames' houses in the town.

Meanwhile the Parliamentary party did not lose sight of Eton and its endowments. An ordinance of the House of Commons for confiscating the estates of all archbishops, bishops, deans, and deans and chapters, had an ominous sound; but the Colleges of Westminster, Eton, and Winchester, and Christ Church, Oxford, were specially exempted from its operation in October 1642.[3] In the following February, the statutes and canons which ordered the Graduates and the Scholars to wear surplices in church were declared to be "against law, and the liberty of the subject."[4] In the last month of that year Colonel Venn, whose iconoclastic fury had already been displayed at St. George's,[5] was ordered to remove all "scandalous monuments and pictures . . . . in the several churches of Windsor and Eton,"[6] In the same month a sequestration of the income of the Provost was granted to Sir H. Cholmeley, "to receive upon account, without prejudice to the Scholars and Fellows."[7] This sequestration, however, was soon removed, in order that the dignity as well as the

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. iii. f. 51. July 6, 1643.

[2] *Eton Audit Books.*

[3] *Commons' Journals*, vol. ii. p. 827.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 972.

[5] Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182.

[6] *Commons' Journals*, vol. iii. p. 348.

[7] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 326.

revenues of the Provostship might be enjoyed by a member of the dominant party. An ordinance passed by the Lords at Westminster on the 10th of February, 164$\frac{3}{4}$, declares that—

"Whereas Richard Steward, Doctor of the Law, and Provost of Eaton Colledge, hath neglected the Government of the said College, and joined himself to those that have levied war against the Parliament. . . . . For the better supply of that place of Eaton College, and for the good Government thereof by a person of learning and piety, the Lords and Commons in Parliament do order and ordain that the said Dr. Steward, from henceforth shall be removed and wholly discharged from being any longer Provost of Eaton College; and they do wholly remove and discharge him thereof to all intents and purposes; and they do hereby constitute and ordain Francis Rous of Brixham within the County of Devon, Esquire, to be Provost of the said College of Eaton, ... for and during the term of his natural life."[1]

Dr. Steward's name appears no more after this in connection with Eton. He was the principal Commissioner on behalf of the English Church at the Uxbridge Conference in 1645;[2] and he became one of the most trusted advisers of Charles II. Had he lived to see the Restoration, he would doubtless have been offered a bishopric, but he died soon after the battle of Worcester, at St. Germains, where he was twice visited on his death-bed by his King.[3] By his own desire nothing was recorded of him on his tombstone except that "while living he prayed without ceasing for the peace of the Church."[4]

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. vi. p. 419. *Commons' Journals*, vol. iii. p. 381.

[2] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 45, 54.

[3] Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. iii. p. 297. See several letters and papers by Dr. Steward in *Cosin's Correspondence* (*Surtees Society*), vol. i.

[4] Kennett's *Register*, p. 261.

If the claims of episcopacy had an able advocate in Provost Steward, they had as zealous an opponent in his successor, who sat as a layman in the Westminster Assembly of Divines.[1] Francis Rous was a Cornish gentleman of good family and education, and a member of the successive parliaments summoned during the reign of Charles I., in each of which he distinguished himself by his invectives against the Established Church, as well as against Arminianism. A few months after his appointment to the Provostship of Eton, he seemed to be in danger of losing it, through the operation of the so-called "Self-denying Ordinance;" but he had sufficient influence in the House of Commons to cause an exception to be made in his own favour.[2] Being thus confirmed in his place, he brought forward an ordinance exempting the property of Eton College from taxation, and authorizing an election of Scholars to be held "in manner as hath heretofore been accustomed."[3] Though this ordinance was not passed till late in August 1645, an election was held that year, and ten Scholars were sent up to King's.[4] At the election of the next year, one of the candidates for a Scholarship at Eton passed a satisfactory examination in Hebrew, "which was thought beyond precedent." This young prodigy—John Janeway—was then about thirteen years of age.[5]

Matters went on quietly enough at Eton for some time under Francis Rous; though of course the Directory must have been substituted for the Book of Common Prayer. One of the oldest of the Fellows,

[1] Neal's *Lives of the Puritans.*

[2] *Commons' Journals*, vol. iv. p. 161.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 255—257, and *Lords' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 556.

[4] *Registrum Regale.*

[5] Janeway's *Invisibles, Realities.*

Thomas Weaver, is said to have been in the habit of assembling the members of the disbanded choirs of Windsor and Eton in his rooms every morning, to perform some of the sacred music to which they had been accustomed. The story goes that when Colonel Venn, the Governor of Windsor Castle, "once asked him why he could not be as well satisfied with the Psalms as they were sung in the Church as with this Popish music, the good old gentleman warily replied that he humbly conceived that God was as well pleased with being served in tune as out of tune!"[1]

In April 1644, the House of Commons ordered the Committee of Plundered Ministers "to consider of fit and able men to fill up the places of such Fellows of Eton College as have deserted their places, and have adhered to the forces raised against the Parliament,"[2] but no steps were taken in the matter. The ordinance was subsequently revoked, and the Provost and Fellows received authority to conduct elections in the regular manner.[3] The legitimate Fellows were gradually ejected, and Puritans were substituted for them. First among these latter was Joseph Symonds, who had abandoned a benefice in London, and fled the country in the days of Laud's power,[4] but who in 1647, was styled "an approved orthodox divine."[5] George Goad, another of the new Fellows, had a better right to his place, as having been educated at Eton, and as having been Head-Master for six months.

[1] MS. note in an old interleaved copy of Harwood's *Alumni Etonenses*, now in the possession of the Rev. G. R. Dupuis, Vice-Provost.

[2] *Commons' Journals*, vol. iii. p. 456.

[3] *Lords' Journals*, vol. viii. p. 132.

[4] *Laud's Works* (1847), vol. v. p. 363.

[5] *Commons' Journals*, vol. v. p. 325.

A further step towards the destruction of the old collegiate system was taken at this time, by allowing commons to the Fellows in money instead of in kind.[1] Thenceforth any Fellows who happened to be in residence took their meals in their own houses instead of in the College hall. They continued to receive their beer from the brew-house, which seems to have enjoyed a good reputation in the seventeenth century. When the unfortunate King was confined as a prisoner in his own castle of Windsor, he was supplied with beer from Eton.[2]

The fate which had so nearly overtaken the College under Edward IV., Henry VIII., and Edward VI., seemed imminent once more in 1649, when an ordinance was issued for the sale of the estates of various religious corporations. An exemption, however, was obtained, and the College was not molested.[3] A few months later, the House of Commons resolved that the Fellows, Masters, and even the Scholars, in the Colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, should be compelled to subscribe the "Engagement," that they would be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established, without a King or House of Lords."[4] Two Justices of the Peace went to Eton for the purpose of receiving signatures to this document, and were entertained

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1646—1647.

[2] *Ibid.* 45*s.* was received "for 4 hogsheads of ordinary Beere sent to Court when his Majesty was at Windsor."

[3] *Ibid.* "In charges to the Vice Provost and Mr. Bateman riding to London in May last, to procure from the Parliament the sense of the House about a clause concerning Eton school in the ordinance for the sale of Deans and Prebends lands 57*l.* 4*s.*" "Itm for an Act of Parliament for the Colledge Indemnity in the sale of Deans and Prebends lands 4*l.* 10*s.*" See also *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi. p. 219.

[4] *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi. p. 307.

with wine and biscuit, at the College expense.[1] The new Fellows, of course, subscribed readily enough, but "the ever-memorable" John Hales absolutely refused to do so. He was a Royalist by conviction as well as by the force of sympathy. When the Puritans first came to Eton, Hales had concealed himself for nine weeks, lest they should obtain possession of certain documents and keys entrusted to him by the College. His hiding-place was so near at hand that he used to say that those who were searching for him might have smelt him if he had eaten garlick. This was forgiven at the time; but his refusal to subscribe the "Engagement" cost him his Fellowship. John Penwarn, who was appointed to succeed him, felt some scruples, and offered to share the income of the place with him; an offer which Hales absolutely declined, saying, logically enough, that if he was entitled to any part, he was entitled to the whole.

Hales first went to live with a Mrs. Salter, near Colnbrook, as tutor to her son, and he used there to perform the services of the Church of England for the benefit of the household, including Dr. King, the ejected Bishop of Chichester. Thence he returned to Eton, not indeed to his old rooms, but to a lodging, next to the Christopher Inn, kept by one of his former servants. Aubrey paid him a visit:—

"I saw him, a prettie little man, sanguine,[2] of a chearful countenance, very gentele and courteous. I was received by him with much humanity; he was in a kind of violet-coloured cloath gowne with buttons and loopes (he wore not a black gowne), and he was reading Thomas à Kempis.

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1649—1650.

[2] *i.e.* ruddy.

It was within a yeare before he deceased. He loved Canarie; but moderately to refresh his spirits."[1]

In the days of his prosperity, Hales used to declare that he had fifty pounds a year more than he cared to spend; but the loss of his Fellowship at Eton and his Canonry at Windsor reduced him to a state of poverty. He was compelled to sell the principal portion of his library, which Clarendon describes as equal to any private collection in England in value, as well as in extent. He generously gave a portion of the proceeds to other deprived clergymen and scholars;[2] but he retained money enough for his own maintenance. The accounts of his extreme poverty in some of the old biographies are evidently exaggerated. A will signed on the very day of his death, proves that Hales still possessed some money as well as books. In this he gives instructions as to his funeral, which was

"To be done in plain and simple manner, without any sermon, or ringing the bell, or calling the people together; without any unseasonable commensation or compotation, or other solemnity on such occasions usual. And I strictly command my executrix, that neither of her own head, nor at the importunity or authority of any other, neither upon any other pretence whatsoever, to take upon her to dispense with this part of my will; for as in my life I have done the Church no service, so will I not that in my death the Church doe me any honor."[3]

Hales died on the 16th of May, 1656, aged seventy-two, and was buried according to his express desire in the churchyard of Eton instead of in the Church. The monument to his memory was erected by Peter Curwen, a former pupil.

[1] *Letters of Eminent Persons*, vol. ii. pp. 363—364.

[2] *Biographia Britannica.*

[3] *Eton Register*, f. 70, printed in *Hales's Works* and in Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary.*

A fellow-sufferer with Hales was Nicholas Gray, who had been successively Head-Master of the Charter-House, of Merchant Taylors, and of Eton. He had lost the first of these appointments in consequence of his marriage, and now lost the last of them in consequence of his loyalty.[1] His successor, George Goad, obtained a Fellowship at the end of six months. After him came Thomas Horne, author of several school books, and father of two good scholars, one of whom became Master of Harrow, and the other Vice-Provost of Eton.[2] Gray was glad enough to obtain the Mastership of Tunbridge School, which Horne resigned on his promotion to Eton.[3] Thomas Mountague, the friend of Hales, and the overseer of his will, was allowed to retain his post as Usher until the Restoration, when he was made Head-Master.

In 1653, Provost Rous received an accession of dignity which, though short-lived, has obtained for his name a place in the History of England. When in that year, Cromwell entrusted the government of the nation to a body of his own nominees—the "Barebones Parliament"—the Provost of Eton, as one of the most respectable members, was appointed Speaker,[4] and he continued to occupy the chair until the members of the Independent majority surrendered to Cromwell the authority which they had received from him.[5] The Protector afterwards rewarded the steady subservience of Rous, by a writ of summons to the Upper House,[6] for he "could not well do less than make that gentleman a Lord who had made him a

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 504.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 366.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 505.
[4] Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 560.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 570.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 666.

Prince." By the Royalist party Rous was perhaps more despised than feared. Clarendon describes him as enjoying a reputation for "some knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but thoroughly engaged in the guilt of the times."[1] By others he was styled "The illiterate old Jew of Eton," in allusion to his desire to see the Mosaic system established in England.[2] His printed works hardly deserve so severe an epithet, though they now find few readers. The best known of them is a metrical translation of the Psalms, which was printed by order of the House of Commons, and is still used by Scotch Presbyterians.

Provost Rous seems to have used the Election Hall for prayer-meetings,[3] but of course there was service in the Church for the boys and the parishioners. Dr. Worthington, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, preached there frequently at this period.[4] A small book was published in London in 1657, entitled—

"A Christian Calendar for children or youth, or an Essay of laying down and in, the principles of sound doctrine, by way of Catechism in 52 weeks, calculated for the Scholars of Eton Colledge (with their neighbours) by the present Catechist there."

It was during the Puritan *régime* that the Collegiate Church came to be generally, though not invariably, called the "Chapel;" and the Chaplains acquired the uncouth and somewhat ignominious designation of

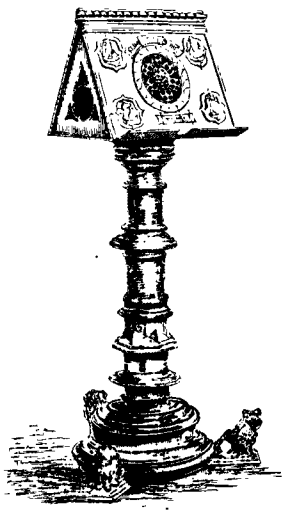
[1] *History of the Rebellion* (1826), vol. vii. p. 15.

[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 466—469.

[3] *Eton Audit Book*, 1649—1650. Seats were provided "for those y^t^ meet there to attend upon ye repeticon on ye Lord's day."

[4] *Diary of John Worthington* (*Chetham Society*), vol. i. pp. 30, 48, 50, 84—86, 115, 189.

"Conducts."[1] The beautiful old brass lectern, which had escaped the destructive zeal of the early Reformers, was removed from the Church in 1650,[2] but it has been preserved uninjured. In the following year the Arms of the Commonwealth were put up in the Church.[3]



The Lectern.

The College authorities took every opportunity of displaying their antipathy to the Royalist party, even in the distribution of alms. Wayfarers in distress seldom received more than 1*s.* from them; but "the poore widdow of a good Minister formerly persecuted by Bishop Wren" got 2*s.* 6*d.*,[4] and "a poor gentlewoman undone by the

[1] The Conducts are not so called because they conduct the service in church, but because, according to the Statutes they are "*conductitii et remotivi*," *i.e.* hired and removable.

[2] *Eton Audit Book*, 1649—1650. "For removing the brazen desk from the Chappell 6*d.*"

[3] *Ibid.* 1650—1651.

[4] *Ibid.* 1649—1650.

Cavaliers" got 1*l.*[1] The College voluntarily paid for the armour of two horsemen "for the use of the State."[2] Days of thanksgiving for the battle of Worcester, and for other triumphs were observed in the hall.[3]

The College was so thoroughly leavened with Puritanism that it had little to fear from the Commissioners appointed by Cromwell in September 1654, to visit Eton as well as Cambridge, and to suggest alterations in the Statutes.[4] Rous was a member of the Commission, but he did not court enquiry, and little or nothing was done. His own claim to be styled Provost was certainly questionable; yet it must be owned that he ever showed as warm an interest in the College as if he had been one of its legitimate members. He was the founder of three exhibitions at Pembroke College, Oxford, for Eton Scholars who had failed to obtain places at King's College, but which, in the absence of any such candidates, might be given to undergraduates of less than two years' standing who had been educated at Eton.

Provost Rous died at Acton, on the 7th of January, $165\frac{8}{9}$, four months later than his friend and patron, Oliver Cromwell.[5] Bulstrode Whitelock, the historian, has fallen into a singular error respecting this date. He writes :—

[1] *Eton Audit Book*, 1652—1653.

[2] *Ibid.* 1650—1651.

[3] *Ibid.* "To Mr. Cox for several bottles of wine for the College use on a Thanksgiving day & for pipes and Tobacco sent for at several Tymes for the use of the College." *Ibid.* 1651—1652. "To the entertaynment of 8 strangers to dinner in ye Coll Haul on ye 24 of October 1651 being a thanksgiving day for the victory at Worcester, being over and above what every Fellow paid 16*s.*" *Ibid.* 1652—1653. "Strangers entertayned in the Coll Haul on the Thanksgiving Day 3*s.* 6*d.*"

[4] Heywood and Wright's *Cambridge University Transactions*, vol. i. pp. xvii—xxi.

[5] *Biographia Britannica.*

"The Provost of Eton, Mr. Rouse, being dead, I had some thoughts, and was advised by some friends to endeavour to have the place of Provost, a thing of good value, quiet and honourable, and fit for a scholar, and I was not wholly incapable of it; I therefore made application to his Highness concerning it, but found him engaged, or at least seeming to be so, for another; my service was past, and therefore no necessity of a recompense, but this was reserved as a Bait for some others to be employed by his Highness."[1]

The date of this entry is October 25, 1657; *i.e.*, more than fourteen months before the death of Rous, who, as we have said, survived the Protector. This anachronism seems extraordinary in reference to a matter so nearly concerning the writer, and can only be explained by supposing that he wrote the word "dead" where he ought to have written "dangerously ill." Anyhow, the "Memorials" cannot have been revised very carefully, for Rous is brought to life again in the very next page as one of the new Peers. This Provost had left particular instructions that he should be buried at Eton—"a place which hath my deare affections and prayers, that it may be a flourishing nursery of pietie and learning to the end of the world."[2] His body was accordingly removed from Acton, and interred in Lupton's Chapel. The Church Register records the burial of "The Honble Francis Lord Rouse," on the 25th of January. The Royalists tore down his banners soon after the Restoration, but his portrait still hangs in the dining-room at the Provost's Lodge. He is there represented in his robes as Speaker of the House of Commons, with the mace before him. An engraving of his head by Faithorne was copied from

[1] Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 665.

[2] Will in the Court of Probate, London, *Pell.* f. 51.

another portrait, and bears under it the following lines :—

"Adam the first this Image claymes as his,
Within, the second Adam's Image is,
That is the hidden Face not seen by thee,
But God it sees, and it God's face shall see."

The funeral sermon on Provost Rous was preached by John Oxenbridge, one of the Fellows,[1] who had once been a tutor at Magdalen Hall, Oxford;

"But being found guilty of a strange and superstitious way of dealing with his scholars, by persuading and causing some of them to subscribe, as votaries, to several articles framed by himself, as he pretended, for their better government, as if the statutes of the place wherein he lived, and the authority of the then present government were not sufficient, he was distutor'd in the month of May 1634. Afterwards he left the Hall, and shewing himself very schismatical abroad, was forced to leave the nation; whereupon he, with his beloved wife called Jane Butler, went to the islands of Bermudas, where he exercised his ministry. At length the long parliament making mad work in England in 1641, etc., he (as other schismatics did) returned, preached very enthusiastically in several places in his travels to and fro, while his dear wife preached in the house among her gossips and others."[2]

On the death of the Puritan Vice-Provost, Symonds, John Oxenbridge obtained a Fellowship at Eton. Here he had the misfortune to lose his wife; but, notwithstanding the expressions of his intense grief on her epitaph, he married again about six months later.[3] Wood says that he married a third time, and that he was "composed of a strange hodg-podg of opinions, not easily to be described; was of a roving

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 468.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 1027.
[3] *Sloane MS.* 4843, ff. 359—361.

and rambling head, spent much, and, I think, died at last in a mean condition."

John Oxenbridge was one of the Fellows who took part in the election of a new Provost, before the old Provost was even buried. In the absence of any strong central Government, they did not wait for any *mandamus*, and proceeded to elect one of their own number, Nicholas Lockyer, an Independent minister, formerly Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell.[1] The Latin letter in which they acquainted "the most serene and most mighty Prince," the Protector Richard, of their choice, is curious as showing that they considered him invested with the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Lincoln, and consequently their lawful Visitor. They were careful to observe the old forms as well as they could, and they did not attempt to omit the words *Beatæ Mariæ* from the designation of the College.[2] It mattered little what they did, for a period of anarchy had commenced, only to be terminated by the restoration of the Stuarts.

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. pp. 162—165.

[2] *Eton Register*, f. 58. January 14, $165\frac{8}{9}$.

Silver Salt-cellar,
Given to the College by Nicholas Hobart, A.D. 1656.

1660–1681.

The Restoration—Provost Monk—New Fellows—Regulations as to Discipline—Provost Meredith—Robert Boyle and Edmund Waller—Provost Allestree—Financial Reform—The Upper School—Nathaniel Ingelo—Contests for Fellowships—School List of 1678.

WHEN the dissensions between the Rump Parliament and the Council of Officers had rendered Monk the arbiter of his country's destiny, two clergymen, one the General's brother, the other his chaplain, displayed great zeal on behalf of Prince Charles, for which they were subsequently rewarded with important posts at Eton. The former, Nicholas Monk, was Rector of Kilkhampton, a valuable living in Cornwall, to which he had been presented by his kinsman, Sir John Grenville, on the express understanding that he should do everything in his power to further the Royalist cause.[1] When, therefore, Grenville wished to commence negotiations with George Monk, who was in command of the army in Scotland,

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 815.

he selected Nicholas Monk to sound the General as to his intentions. The accounts of the interview between the brothers differ in some respects, but agree in representing the General as too cautious to commit himself in any way, while the drift of public opinion seemed so very uncertain. Though unsuccessful in the principal object of his mission, Nicholas Monk secured a valuable ally in the person of John Price, his brother's chaplain and intimate friend.[1]

A few months later, when affairs had taken a decided turn in favour of the Stuarts, and Monk was established at Westminster with his army, John Price was selected by the new House of Commons to preach before them at St. Margaret's, on the 10th of May, 1660—the "Day of Thanksgiving to the Lord for raising up his Excellency the Lord General, and other eminent Persons, who have been instrumental in the Delivery of this Nation from Thraldom and Misery."[2] Before the appointed day had arrived, Charles II. had been proclaimed King, and the preacher was free to manifest his sympathies without reserve. Naturally enough, he extolled his patron, and proceeded to censure the Puritans, especially for their wanton destruction of painted glass: "A sad presage it was that those errors that could never have got in at our Church doors, should creep in at its broken windows." Price afterwards published a pamphlet entitled, "The Mystery and Method of His Majesty's happy Restoration."

The new King was no sooner established at Whitehall, than petitions began to pour in from every side. Cavaliers, who had adhered faithfully to the Stuarts all through the civil wars and Commonwealth, now

[1] *Biographia Britannica.*

[2] *Parliamentary History*, vol. iv. p. 13.

expected to receive ample rewards for their sufferings; while men who had conformed reluctantly during these difficult times, were most anxious to be allowed to retain their posts. A conspicuous Puritan like Nicholas Lockyer could hardly hope for any favour from the new Government, so he quietly resigned the Provostship of Eton, and retired on his private fortune, which sufficed to support him in comfort for the rest of his days. He became a regular frequenter of conventicles, and continued so disaffected as to incur suspicion of being concerned in a treasonable conspiracy.[1]

Several candidates applied for the Provostship, among whom we may notice an officer in the army,[2] and a disappointed Irish lawyer,[3] both of whom probably thought more about its emoluments than its duties. Other claims would certainly have been sent in, if the King had not cut the matter short by appointing Nicholas Monk to the vacant post, on the recommendation of Sir John Grenville.[4] Instead of following one of the old forms, by recommending or ordering the Fellows to elect his nominee, Charles II. made an absolute grant of the Provostship in the same terms, *mutatis mutandis*, as a conveyance of land. Monk took possession of his new dignity without any sort of election; and the Fellows, unwilling to allow these arbitrary proceedings to be quoted as precedents, withheld any allusion to them from the College Registers. A certified copy of the King's letter, which bears date the 7th of July, 1660, exists in the library at Eton, but it has escaped the notice of Rawlinson and of Huggett.

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 163.

[2] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. i. No. 155.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. iii. No. 59.

[4] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 815.

The majority of the Puritan Fellows followed Lockyer's example, three only of their number making any effort to avert the fate of expulsion which seemed to await them. One of these, John Boncle, drew up a plausible petition recounting his former services to the children of Charles I., and his exertions as Master at the Charter-House and at Eton.[1] This petition, however, was disregarded by the King's advisers, and Boncle had to content himself with the Mastership of the Mercers' School in London.[2] The other two met with better success. The arbitrators, to whom George Goad's case was referred, pronounced his election valid on the score of its having taken place a few months before the execution of Charles I. It is difficult to account for Ingelo's good fortune, except by ascribing it to the influence of some powerful person at Court. Anyhow, he obtained a royal *mandamus* describing him as having been "very useful and serviceable" to the College. He was accordingly elected, or rather re-elected, Fellow, on the 12th of July, 1660.[3]

Of the Fellows who had been ejected by the Puritans, two only—Stokes and Meredith—survived to resume their former places at Eton, and to take part in the election of the new members nominated by the King. General Monk had secured one of the vacant places for his chaplain, John Price, who, as an Etonian and Kingsman, was well qualified; while the others were bestowed on Isaac Barrow, and Nicholas Gray, the former Head-Master.[4]

The new Provost and Fellows lost no time in mani-

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. ix. No. 126.

[2] Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 174.

[3] *Eton Register*.

[4] *Eton Register*, f. 65. Strangely enough the *mandamus* for Barrow is directed to Monk though dated three days before his appointment to the Provostship.

festing their antipathy to the late *régime*. They tore down the pretentious banners of the late "Lord" Rous from the walls of the Collegiate Church;[1] and they defaced Andrew Marvell's "canting" epitaph on Jane Oxenbridge.[2] A similar policy led to the dismissal of Singleton from the position of Head-Master, notwithstanding his protests and entreaties. He was succeeded by Thomas Mountague, who, though inclined to the Royalist cause, had presided over the Lower School for many years under Provosts Rous and Lockyer.[3] The Book of Common Prayer was, of course, restored to its former use in the services of the Church;[4] and in December 1660, it was formally resolved at a College meeting:—

"That the Houre of prayer be 10 of clock in the morning and 4 of the clock in the afternoone, that communion be at the three great festivalls, & Sunday at Michaelmas and that Fellows, Conducts, Clerks and Schollers be in surplices the Sunday after Candlemas day."[5]

The School plays, which had naturally found little favour with the Puritans, now met with every encouragement. The College authorities not only gave money to the scholars who took part in the comedy, but on at least one occasion hired a band of musicians to enliven the performance.[6] But though thus favourably inclined to innocent amusements, the new Provost and Fellows did not lose sight of the real interests of

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 468.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 1028.

[3] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. vii. No. 109.

[4] *Eton Audit Book.*

[5] *Eton Minute Book*, Dec. 13, 1660.

[6] *Eton Audit Book*, 1659—1660. "Given to the musicians at the play by consent 1*l.*" *Ibid.* 1660—1661. "To Robert Woodward for a cord lent at ye Comedy & lost 1*s.*" *Ibid.* 1663—1664. "Given to the scholars by consent for acting their comedies last yeare 1*l.*"

the School, and in the course of the first year after the Restoration, issued several regulations for the enforcement of stricter discipline than had prevailed of late. Thus it was ordered :—

"That the Schoolemaster shall grant but one afternoone in a week for leave to play and that only when there is no holyday in the week."[1]

"That within a month after our Ladyes day next all the Kings schollers and choristers shall ly in the long chamber and that the Scholemaster & Usher shall lodge in their chambers at the ends of the long chamber to prevent disorders which may otherwise happen in the said chamber."[2]

"That the statutes be read according to Statute.

"That the schollers and servants be sworne to the Statutes so far as it concerns them.

"That the Schoolemaster and Usher be put in mind to repaire to the Schoole, the Schoolemaster at 7 in the morning and one in the afternoon, and the Usher soon after six and twelve.

"That the Schoolemaster or Usher in writing times shall take care that the schollers do not wander about but be held to a task, and therof to call for a daily accompt.

"That speciall care be taken to prevent the disorders of the election week."[3]

With respect to their own emoluments and rights the authorities resolved :—

"That the Provost's Allowance besides his wood, capons, twenty dozen of candles and twenty loads of Hay, shall be five hundred Pounds per annum. And that the allowance of each Fellow shall be one hundred and fifty pounds per annum to be payd quarterly by the Bursars."[4]

"That what livings fall shall not be disposed till they be offerd and refusd by the fellows in seniority, and if they all

[1] *Eton Minute Book*, Dec. 19, 1660.

[2] *Ibid.* March 18, 1661.

[3] *Eton Minute Book*, June 21, 1661.

[4] *Ibid.* March 18, 1661.

refuse, then every fellow to have the refusall in seniority for his friend whom he will commend."[1]

The high table, which had stood idle for some time, was again brought into use. It was

"Agreed that there shall be a Diet in the College Hall at Dinner only, to begin at Lady day next the expense for a yeare to be 160li; the Quiristers to serve and have their allowance of Bread and Beer at dinner and their commons at supper: that the 160li be payd by the fellowes and schoolmaster out of their dues at 20li per annum each; and that any fellow present and schoolmaster present shall have a loafe of bread and a pott of Beere, and that every fellow which brings in his friends shall pay for his bread and Beer, except it be a Tenant."[2]

We shall hereafter see how strictly the ordinances of the Church were observed at this table as well as at the lower tables. With regard to the latter it was ordered:—

"That the schollers shall have threpence a mess dinner, & supper through the whole Lent as allso all fasting daies through the yeare."[3]

In connection with these fasts we may notice the order:—

"That there be a boat with a Tilt & a Trunke to keepe Fish for the Colledge use."[4]

A few months after the Restoration, it was found necessary to fill up the numerous vacancies on the episcopal bench, and Dr. Monk was appointed Bishop of Hereford. It was arranged that he should not resign the Provostship until he had occupied his see for two years;[5] but he did not live long enough to reap much advantage from his *commendam*, as he fell

[1] *Eton Minute Book*, Dec. 13, 1660.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* February 8, $166\frac{0}{1}$.
[4] *Eton Minute Book*, May 20, $166\frac{0}{1}$.
[5] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. xxxix. No. 67.

ill, and died at his lodgings in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, on the 17th of December, 1661, in the first year of his episcopate. He was buried in the neighbouring Abbey, his brother George, Duke of Albemarle, attending as chief mourner.[1]

The reversion of the Provostship had several months previously been granted to Dr. Thomas Browne, Canon of Windsor, and late Chaplain to the Princess of Orange,[2] and he now lost no time in procuring a confirmation of the King's letter in his favour. A new *mandamus* was accordingly issued two days after Bishop Monk's death, and actually before the funeral, ordering the immediate election of Dr. Browne, though he had not been a member of either of Henry VI.'s foundations.[3] It did not find the Fellows in a very submissive mood. They did not, indeed, venture to bring forward any other candidate, but they had the unusual boldness to disobey the royal commands by not holding any election whatever. Whether they refused to acknowledge the validity of the dispensation, or whether they raised any other objection to Browne, is not clear; but they certainly carried their point. Two months later, the King, acknowledging that he had "received further information," was obliged to revoke his former letters, and to desire the Fellows to elect one of their own body, Dr. John Meredith, "who, by his eminent work and constant affection to us and our interest, hath very well deserved this character of our royal favour." This order met with ready obedience,[4] a proof that the Fellows were not

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 816.

[2] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. xxxix. No. 67.

[3] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. xlv. No. 75.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. li. No. 24, and *Eton Register*.

attempting to secure the absolutely free right of election accorded to them by the Founder.

Meredith was at this time Warden of All Souls, and he continued to preside over both Colleges until his death. His brief tenure of the Provostship is only remarkable for further attempts to enforce discipline. It was

"Ordred by Mr. Provost & the Fellowes that the schollars shall not goe out of their bounds day or night without Leave of the Provost or vice Provost, upon payne of admonition and being Registred for the first fault, and for the second fault to be admonished & Registred the second time and severely punished. And for the third fault to be expelled from the College.

"Ordred then that the publique dores of the Schoole & Longe Chamber shalbe secured by new Locks, & that the keys of all those dores be taken evry night imediatly after prayers, and that those schollers whoe shall goe out of the Schoole or College any evening without Leave of the Provost or Vice Provost shalbe admonished & Registred for the first fault, and severly punished & Registred for the second fault, and for the third expelled.

"It was ordred alsoe that if any Schollar doe presume to ly out of the Coll one night without Leave of the Provost or Vice Provost he shalbe whipt & Registered for the first fault, & for the second he shalbe expelled.

"It was ordred then also that Clark, Stone, Curwin & Whittaker, whoe lately accompanied Garaway & Langston at the Christopher & Thos Woodward's, shall have a forme of Repentance drawne for them which they shall read in the School before the Vice Provost & Fellowes in English, & that their fault of being out of their bounds shalbe Registred *pro prima vice*."

A little later, viz. on the 2nd of April, 1666, there is a

"Memorand. that Curwin & Baker were admonished & whipt & Registred for goeing out of their bounds to the Datchet

ale-houses & beating the fishermen in their way home to the great scandal of the College. Curwin for the second time, and Baker for the first."[1]

Curwin must have been old enough to know better, if he is identical with the scholar of that name who was elected to King's in that same year. Such offences as his would meet with similar punishment now; but the rules respecting smoking have changed since that time. It seems that tobacco was considered an excellent preservative against the plague, which committed such dreadful ravages in the reign of Charles II.; and the Eton boys were ordered to smoke in school daily. Tom Rogers told Hearne "that he was never whipped so much in his life as he was one morning for not smoaking."[2]

Dr. Meredith died in July 1665, and was buried in the Chapel of All Souls' College, where an epitaph describes him as a man of courteous though old-fashioned manners.[3] The King at once offered the Provostship to Robert Boyle, an offer which reflected honour on both. Boyle, having been educated at Eton, was already familiar with the customs and traditions of the School, and he possessed private means which would have prevented him from looking upon the Provostship as a mere source of income. But he was aware that the Statutes required the Provost to be a priest, and the idea of a dispensation was repugnant to his mind. He might, it is true, have overcome the difficulty, by following the example of Sir Henry Wotton in taking holy orders, and this course was urged upon him by his friends, who knew him to be the author of several religious treatises,

[1] *Eton Election Register*, vol. i.
[2] *Hearne's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 49.
[3] "Blandis moribus quanquam et antiquis."

and a man of virtuous life. Boyle, however, felt that his works commanded more attention as coming from a layman, than they would otherwise have done, and he was anxious to prove to the world by his example, that the study of theology was not exclusively the province of the clergy. Thus the very qualifications which in the eyes of others made him so well fitted to become a clergyman, deterred him from seeking ordination. These conscientious scruples were enhanced by a reluctance to undertake any official duties which would interfere with the study of philosophy, so he gave a positive refusal to the King's unexpected offer.[1]

Boyle's conduct at this juncture appears all the more creditable when contrasted with that of Edmund Waller, who owes his place among eminent Etonians to his talents rather than to his virtues. This poet, whose venal odes had successively resounded the praises of Charles I., of Cromwell, and of Charles II., was now in high favour with this last monarch, and easily obtained from him a promise of the Provostship of his old school. The necessary documents were prepared, and Waller was congratulating himself on his success, when an unforeseen obstacle arose. Clarendon, who was then Lord Chancellor, absolutely refused to affix the Great Seal to the King's *mandamus*, declaring that the office could not be filled by a layman. Waller was bitterly disappointed at the time, and he afterwards gratified his revenge by joining in the prosecution of Clarendon with great violence.[2]

The Provostship was next offered to Dr. Richard Allestree, who accepted it, and was duly elected on the 8th of August, 1665.[3] In this instance Clarendon did not

[1] *Biographia Britannica.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Eton Register.*

insist upon an entire obedience to the Statutes, for the new Provost did not possess all the qualifications which they require, never having been connected with either of the Colleges founded by Henry VI. The Chancellor was doubtless glad to be able to bestow this reward on one who rendered loyal service to Charles I. and Charles II.

Allestree was a student at Christ Church at the outbreak of the civil war, and he twice contrived to outwit a band of Parliamentarians by means of a private key.

"Some of the rebels, having attempted to break into the treasury of Christ Church, and after a days labour having forced a passage into it, met with nothing but a groat and a halter, at the bottom of a large iron chest. Enraged at their disappointment, they went to the Deanery, where having plundered as much as they thought fit, they put it all together in a chamber, and retired to their quarters, intending the next day to return and dispose of their prize. But when they came, they found themselves again disappointed, and everything removed out of the chamber."

After this Allestree fought at Edgehill, and served in the King's army during the siege of Oxford, "frequently holding his musket in one hand and book in the other, and making the watchings of a soldier the lucubrations of a student." When the Parliamentary visitors came to Christ Church, they ejected him from his place, "because," as one of them said, "he was an eminent man." After the battle of Worcester, Allestree became the bearer of various communications between the Royalists in England and the exiled Court, but, being detected, he was committed to prison, from which he was not released till the restoration of the Stuarts seemed certain. He was thereupon given a Canonry at Christ

Church, and the Regius Chair of Divinity at Oxford.[1] The Provostship of Eton was the highest dignity to which he ever attained,[2] though his epitaph implies that he might have been a bishop if he had chosen.[3]

Allestree proved to be one of the best Provosts that Eton has ever had. Although he did not attain the same reputation in literature or politics as several of his predecessors, he was at least equal to any of them in administrative ability. On assuming the government of the College he found its finances in a very critical condition. The Puritan Fellows had introduced a custom of charging all extraordinary expenses to capital, and of dividing the surplus income of each year among themselves. The debt thus contracted was drawing interest so heavy that in the year 1665 the College was said, perhaps somewhat hyperbolically, to be on

[1] *Biographia Britannica*, and Fell's *Life of Allestree.*

[2] An Eton tradition says that Allestree had been forgotten at Court, and that he only owed this preferment to a ridiculous incident. A party of Cavaliers are said to have been discussing the personal appearance of the Earl of Lauderdale, when the merry monarch defied any of them to produce an uglier man in the course of half-an-hour. Lord Rochester accepted the challenge, and went out into the streets to try his luck. After carefully scrutinizing all the passers-by, he accosted a shabbily dressed clergyman of singularly unfortunate looks. This was Richard Allestree, whom he inveigled into the King's presence, where their entrance was greeted by the revellers with peals of laughter. When these had subsided, the King acknowledged that he had lost his bet, and then turning to the bewildered clergyman, explained the joke, and apologized for its rudeness. Allestree made good use of the occasion by obtaining a promise of promotion, which was not forgotten when the Provostship of Eton fell vacant.

This story is related at greater length in Jesse's *Favourite Haunts*, pp. 140—145; but it does not appear in any of the old biographies of Allestree, and the dates of his successive preferments prove that his services were never overlooked.

[3] "Episcopales infulas eadem industria evitavit, qua alii ambiunt; cui rectius visum, Ecclesiam defendere, instruere, ornare quam regere."

the verge of bankruptcy. The new Provost resolved to remove any possibility of such a catastrophe, by giving up some of his own dues, and by persuading the Fellows to do likewise. His biographer boasts that by this means, "within a few years the College paid off a thousand pound debt, and expended above two thousand pounds in repairs."[1]

Allestree gave a further proof of his generosity when he undertook a considerable addition to the College buildings at his own expense.[2] The views of Eton which appear on Sir Henry Savile's monument,[3] and on the title-page of his edition of St. Chrysostom, show that the School Yard was in his time enclosed by buildings on three sides only. It was, in fact, merely separated from the high road on the west by a low wall, having an entrance in the centre opposite to the Provost's Lodge. Allestree was the first to complete the quadrangle by connecting the Ante-Chapel with the tower at the end of the Long Chamber. The building which he erected consisted of a long schoolroom on the upper floor, with smaller rooms and a colonnade below it. Such additional accommodation had become necessary, as the old schoolroom was quite inadequate to contain the ever increasing number of Oppidans.

The new building was badly constructed and had to be pulled down within a few years of its erection. The present "Upper School," of which we shall shortly have occasion to speak, occupies its site, and greatly resembles it in design. The principal difference between the two, is to be found in the east side, where

[1] Fell's *Life of Allestree.*

[2] *Ibid.* and Epitaph at Eton.

[3] See the plate in Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. p. 327.

STAIRCASE TO THE CHAPEL AND UPPER SCHOOL.

substantial piers carrying arches have been substituted for Allestree's detached columns and continuous lintel. The earlier building had a higher pitched roof than the present building, but no balustrade crowning the walls.[1]

Bishop Fell writes in warm terms of Provost Allestree's social influence at Eton, saying that while he lived there it "was but as one family, his lodging being every Fellow's chamber, and they as much at home with him as in their own apartment." The duties of the Divinity Chair, however, compelled Allestree to reside chiefly at Oxford, so that he used only to spend about two months of the year at Eton, at the times of the election and the audit respectively.[2] During his absence the College affairs were generally administered by Nathaniel Ingelo or by Zachary Cradock. The former of these seems to have retained his old Puritanical views, and to have made himself extremely unpopular. Soon after his re-election to a Fellowship in 1660, an attempt had been made to eject him from it, by a certain Captain Francis Robinson, of the Life Guards, who, in a deposition before Sir Edward Nicholas, raked up charges extending as far back as 1644. The accusations against Ingelo were, first, that he was at one time in the habit of disturbing the Church service at Wymondham by "most insolent stamping with his feet," and by scoffing at the Book of Common Prayer as containing "conjuration."

"2 Hee said the Bishops were a company of Rogues and Popish prists, and that they ought all to be hanged if they ware rightly served. 3 He the said Angelow said that his Majistie of blessed Memory was a Papist in his harte."

[1] Allestree's Upper School is represented in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1673), p. 195, and in Logan's engraved view of Eton.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4839, f. 79.

He was said to have applied far more offensive names to Queen Henrietta Maria.[1]

Some years later, the scholars of Eton were bold enough to apply to the Bishop of Lincoln for protection against Ingelo, who, as Vice-Provost, used to interfere with them continually. They complained of the

"Tyranny and inhuman proceedings which he lately manifested in expelling a poore Cavalier's sonne, Mr. Hill the watchmaker's sonne, who was one of the upper schollars in our schoole, and one that had had a place at Oxford ere this, and been made for ever, had he not been expelled the Colledge so infortunately to all his friends and especially to his parents' trouble, who being burnt out of their houses by the fire had been almost undone by it. His fault was not soe greate as to despaire of pardon. It was only that with some friends he went to Oxford without asking leave, for which fault Dr. Ingelo, although the Provost had pardoned him, and he promised Dr. Mew that he should not be turned out, did contrary to his promise forbidd him to come neare the College, and bid the College servants lay hold on him and punish him publiquely, if he came within the College bounds, and by this he hath utterly undone him. And soe he would have undone another Cavalier's sonne Esq. Harrison's sonne for nothing as is now known. Wee all wish to be eased of the yoake that we undergoe by the meanes of this Ingelo; for which wee most humbly beseech your Lordshipp to looke upon us condemned to undergoe an unspeakable Tyranny except wee have a reprieve from your hands."[2]

William Otes, one of the Conducts, carried his complaints against Ingelo to a still higher authority, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Otes openly charged the Vice-Provost with persecuting him on account of his zeal for the Church of England, as well as for his

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. x. No. 119.

[2] *Tanner MS.* 158. f. 17.

adherence to the Duke of York's party. This quarrel commenced in 1682, and it was only terminated by the death of Ingelo three years later.[1]

The keen competition for Fellowships, which we have noticed at the period of the Restoration, continued almost throughout the reign of Charles II.. Sir John Grenville was not satisfied with having procured the Provostship for his kinsman Nicholas Monk, and applied to the King for a Fellowship for his own brother. The vacancy caused by the death of Grey had just been filled up,[2] but it was arranged that Dennis Grenville should have the next. But, though the letter in his favour was confirmed sixteen months later, the Fellowship which Meredith resigned on his promotion to the Provostship, was granted by the forgetful King to Dr. Heaver of Windsor.[3] The Grenvilles were naturally indignant at such treatment, and the King had to write to the Provost and Fellows, explaining that the late appointment had been made in consequence of Laud's decree of 1634, which annexed a Fellowship at Eton to the Vicarage of Windsor, and once more bidding them reserve the next place for Grenville, whose family had rendered such eminent services to the Royalist cause.[4] It was thought desirable to encourage men of good family to take holy orders, by bestowing on them suitable pieces of preferment.[5]

Isaac Barrow was expressly permitted to hold his Fellowship together with the See of Sodor and Man,[6] so that no vacancy occurred until the death of David

[1] *Ibid.* 4841, ff. 293—303.
[2] *Eton Register.*
[3] *Ibid.* and *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. li. No. 48.
[4] *Sloane MS.* 4840, ff. 226, 227.
[5] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. lx. No. 50.
[6] *Ibid.* No. 47.

Stokes in 1669. Dennis Grenville had, some years before this, exchanged his reversion for a prebend in the north of England with a certain Timothy Thriscrosse,[1] but the latter had considerable difficulty in maintaining his rights. Notwithstanding the definite *mandamus* in favour of Thriscrosse, Lord Arlington managed to procure a promise of the next Fellowship for his own chaplain, Henry Bold of Christ Church,[2] and he lost no time in obtaining a confirmation of it when the vacancy did occur. Thriscrosse too had influence at Court, and in turn succeeded in persuading the King to revoke this latest order. It availed him little, however, for the letter in his favour did not reach Eton till after the Provost and Fellows had completed the election of Bold.[3] He was more fortunate in the following year.

The inconvenience and scandal caused by such contradictory orders from Whitehall, were doubtless the reasons which induced Allestree, himself an Oxonian, to beg for a confirmation of Laud's decree by which five of the Eton Fellowships were to be reserved for members of the sister foundation.[4] This was granted in 1670, but the order was violated on the first two occasions, when Zachary Cradock of Queen's College Cambridge, and Henry Godolphin of All Souls' College, Oxford, both afterwards Provosts, were respectively elected Fellows.[5] The Kingsmen could hardly witness in silence so glaring an invasion of their privileges, and they accordingly drew up a remonstrance and petition, urging that the order so recently confirmed should for the future be faithfully obeyed.

[1] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II. vol. lx. No. 49.
[2] Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 278.
[3] *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 227.
[4] Fell's *Life of Allestree.*
[5] *Eton Register*, vol. iv.

Their cause was warmly espoused by Archbishop Sancroft, who procured the King's signature to a stronger confirmation of the neglected decree, bidding the electors of Eton disregard any past or future mandatory letters contrary to the same.[1] A petition from the inhabitants of Windsor in favour of their Vicar, met with an unfavourable reception at the hands of the Archbishop.[2]

An attempt was made in 1662 to enforce among the Fellows the celibacy enjoined by the Statutes;[3] but the royal letter to that effect was soon disregarded, if indeed it was not revoked, and the Fellows of Eton have accordingly enjoyed ever since a liberty only lately conceded to the Fellows of certain Colleges at the Universities. The high table re-established in 1665, was maintained for several years. The following entry occurs in the Minute Book under the date of the 4th of January 1676.

"It is agreed that the Allowance for the Fellows Comons shall not exceed in the whole year sixteen pounds of Beef or Mutton for every day and four shillings for the second dish. And that the Beef or Mutton shall not be changed for other meat but upon fasting days and then the value of it to be layd out in providing something els . . . . and that no meat be sent from the Table."

Among the visitors to the College at this period was Samuel Pepys, whose remarks on the *Bacchus* verses have already been quoted.[4] He also noticed the time-honoured custom "of boys cutting their names in the shuts of the window, when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself a Pro-

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4842, ff. 240—242, 281.
[2] *Ibid.* 4841, f. 328.
[3] *Domestic State Papers*, Charles II., vol. lxv. Nos. 43—45.
[4] Page 149.

vost and Fellow, that hath his name in the window yet standing."[1] When Pepys went to see Winchester College he cared for nothing except his dinner,[2] and the same greedy spirit is observable in his warm praise of the beer at Eton.[3] He was not the only person who appreciated its excellence, for Charles II. and Prince Rupert used to partake of it regularly when staying at Windsor.[4]

The earliest School-list extant belongs to the year 1678, and gives the names of 207 boys, five of whom, however, do not appear to have been actually at Eton at the time. Out of this total, seventy-eight were Collegers, including the eight who composed the sixth form, but five of these went up to King's in that year. No distinction is made between an Upper and a Lower School; but in each of the forms, except the highest, a separation is made between the Collegers and the "Oppidanes." The first form was quite empty, unless it included the "Bibler's Seat," which had one occupant. The names of an earl's eldest son, and of no less than five young baronets, indicate that the School was in high favour with the upper class of society. We may observe that the system by which two or more boys of one family were distinguished from one another had been altered since the reign of Charles I. In the lists of Commensals in the Audit Books the eldest brother was always styled *a*, the second 1, and the third *minor*.

[1] The earliest date which we have noticed is 1528, but the regular series does not begin till 1564. After 1645 the names were cut on the pillars, the space on the shutters having been filled.

[2] *Diary*, August 1, 1683.

[3] *Ibid.* February 26, 166$\frac{5}{6}$.

[4] *Eton Audit Book*, 1669—1670. "Received of the King's Butler for 8 hogsheads of beer 9*s.* the hogshead 3*l.* 12*s.*" *Ibid.* 1674—1675. "Prince Rupert one hogshead of beer 12*s.*" *Ibid.* 1676—1677. "5 hogshead of beer for the King."

In 1678 we meet with the more consistent suffixes of *major*, *minor*, and *minimus*.[1] According to modern usage at Eton, the arrival of a fourth brother converts the former *major* into *maximus*, the *minor* into *major*, and the *minimus* into *minor*. There have been several instances of a *quintus*, and at least one of a *septimus*.

The list of 1678 does not give the names of any masters, but we know otherwise that John Rosewell was Head-Master at that time. Under his care the School increased greatly in reputation; and "then it was that the foundation of its present grandeur was laid," says an old writer,[2] who could never have anticipated that it would one day consist of more than 950 boys.

[1] *Rawl. MS.* B. 266, f. 146. | [2] *Ibid.* B. 265, f. 78.

Pump in the Cloisters.

1681—1728.

Provost Cradock—Charles Roderick—John Newborough—The new Upper School—Hunting the Ram—Provost Godolphin—Alterations in the Church—Andrew Snape—Henry Bland—Edward Littleton—William Pitt.

PROVOST ALLESTREE died in January, 168⅞, and as the scrupulous Lord Clarendon was then no longer in power, Edmund Waller felt emboldened to make another application for the post he had so long coveted. The Fellows, however, raised objections to him,[1] and Charles II. was wise enough to refer the case to the Privy Council, who, after hearing it argued by lawyers for three days, declared that the Provostship involved a cure of souls, and consequently could not be held by a layman, under the Act of Uniformity. The King explained to Waller that he could not break the law which he himself had made,[2] and proceeded to issue a letter in favour of Dr. Zachary Cradock, a clergyman who, though an alien, had been a Fellow of Eton for

[1] *Tanner MS.* 158, ff. 3—5. | [2] *Biographia Britannica*, p. 4111.

upwards of nine years.[1] The new Provost had little to recommend him in point of political connection or social position, as one of his brothers was a Nonconformist minister, and another a grocer. His whole reputation rested on his eloquence in the pulpit, where he used always to speak extempore, though he was so far from being vain of this accomplishment, that he would sometimes put on his spectacles and spread out on the cushion before him a note-book really containing nothing but blank leaves.[2] The King was much pleased with a sermon of his on Providence, and ordered it to be printed. The little pamphlet was ironically called the "Works of Dr. Cradock," as if it had been one of the voluminous publications then in vogue.[3]

A little more than a year after Dr. Cradock's appointment to the Provostship, John Rosewell resigned the post of Head-Master somewhat abruptly. Rumour said that he had caused the death of a boy by immoderate flogging, and that he had consequently fallen into a state of melancholy madness, fancying that the King's messengers were coming to arrest him for treason, and refusing to stir out of doors.[4] The truth of this rumour appears doubtful, when we find that he was recalled to Eton as a Fellow a few months later. Rosewell was succeeded in the management of the School by Charles Roderick, a Kingsman, who had been Usher under him for about six years, and who is said to have proved himself an excellent master.

"He had no fault except there be
A fault in too much modesty,

[1] *Eton Register*, vol. iv. ff. 28, 37.
[2] *Lansdowne MS.* 987, f. 117.
[3] *Biographia Britannica*, p. 4111.
[4] *Lansdowne MS.* 987, f. 39.

For tho' none wrote with greater ease,
Tho' he ne'er spoke but sure to please,
Yet none so cautiously withdrew
From pulpits and the public view."[1]

Cole too notices that he "had not the courage to preach one sermon, tho' he composed not a few."[2]

Roderick allowed six of his pupils to be touched for the king's-evil at Eton in September, 1686, with other parishioners, but when James II. again went through the ceremony there, just two years later, none of the scholars required the exercise of his reputed power.[3] The circumstances which induced Charles Roderick to resign the Head-Mastership of Eton occupy an important place in the history of the sister college at Cambridge, and a short account of them may not be altogether out of place here.

It appears that on the death, in 1689, of Dr. Copleston, Provost of King's, the Fellows determined to recover their right of free election, which had been ignored alike by the kings of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, and by the Long Parliament. The Revolution of the previous year had somewhat impaired the force of the royal prerogative, and they might have accomplished their object quietly and satisfactorily if one of their own number, named Hartcliff, had not posted off to the Court in haste, to protest that the right of nomination lay with the King. If the real motive of this "false brother," as they styled him, was to secure the place for himself, he was disappointed, for a *mandamus* was forthwith issued in favour of Stephen Upman, Fellow of Eton. The Kingsmen,

[1] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. ff. 20—22.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 396. Two of the patients were sons of Lord Exeter.

however, asserted their own claims boldly, and refused to elect their royal master's nominee, at the same time taking care to remind the Whig Government that Upman had been a supporter of James II., and had preached at Eton in favour of the illegal Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. This last shaft hit the mark; the *mandamus* was revoked, and a new one was issued in favour of Sir Isaac Newton, the University's own representative in Parliament. The Fellows were not to be propitiated in this manner, and they formally protested against Newton as an alien. The Government again gave way, and a third *mandamus* was sent down to Cambridge, requiring the Fellows to elect the traitor Hartcliff, who certainly had the proper qualifications. "But of this the College being aware, every officer took care to be out of the way, every Fellow's door was shut, and no one at home, so that when the messenger came, finding no one to deliver the *mandamus* to, he laid it on the hall table, from whence at night, by an unknown hand, it was thrown over the wall." The day of election came on before the Government had time to take any further steps in the matter, and the Head-Master of Eton obtained all the votes except three, of which Hartcliff's was one. In thus choosing Charles Roderick, the Fellows were more headstrong than consistent; for he was in reality unqualified, being neither a priest nor a doctor, as required by the Statutes.

"But this was soon rectified, for the University, at the intercession of the College, immediately gave him a Doctor's degree, for which he was to perform his exercises in the following term; and the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Sprat, gave him private ordination at Westminster, assisted by Dr. Annsley, Dean of Exeter, and Prebendary of Westminster.

. . . . And then, to defend themselves in case of a lawsuit, with which they were threatened, the society passed a vote that there should be no dividend till the lawsuit was at an end, and if that should not be sufficient, next to convert all the College plate into money for the same use, and lastly, if more were still wanting, to strike off the second dish for a time. At the same time they applied to all the men of quality then living, that had been bred at King's College, craving their aid to enable them to carry on the lawsuit; in which they met with good success, Lord Dartmouth alone, the College's Lord High Steward, subscribing a thousand pounds towards supporting the lawsuit. However, they thought it most prudent to prevent a lawsuit if they could, and therefore used their utmost endeavours to pacify the Court, and reconcile them, if possible, to their election. By the interest of their friends they prevailed so far as to obtain a hearing, which was appointed to be at Hampton Court."

The College sent up three representative members to argue the case against the law officers of the Crown. The latter of course pleaded the long established practice of the King's predecessors, and the discussion was waxing warm, when there was a sudden hush and a whisper that the Queen was coming through the gallery. One of the Kingsmen, named Layton, being rather deaf, and very blind, did not perceive this, and at the critical moment struck the table with his fist and cried out in a loud voice—"Mr. Attorney-General, if we must bear the grievances of former reigns, then is the King in vain come in." Queen Mary was naturally startled at such plainness of speech. The interview was brought to a close amid threats on one side, and words of defiance on the other, but the King eventually signified his approval of Roderick.[1] From

[1] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. ff. 19—20, 37—39.

that time forth the Kingsmen have elected their own Provost, and in every instance, save one, they have made choice of an Eton master.

One of the deputations to William III. in favour of the presumptuous Kingsmen was attended by John Newborough, the Usher of Eton School, who cannot have been purely disinterested in the matter, as Roderick's removal brought about his own promotion to the office of Head-Master. A glowing eulogy of Newborough forms the specimen page of Dr. Rawlinson's projected History of Eton. We there read :—

"He was of a graceful person and comely aspect; had a presence fit to awe the numerous tribe over which he presided; grave was he in his behaviour, and irreproachable in his life; very pathetical were his reproofs, and dispassionate his corrections; and when any hopes of amendment appeared, he declined severe remedies. He always chose, in the places to which as master he had a right of collation, those youths whose industry, modesty, and good behaviour rendered them remarkable, and that so far from being moved by their parents' and friends' application made to him, that even without their knowledge he frequently conferred his place on them. Careful was he, to the greatest exactness and rigidness imaginable, of the morals of the youths committed to his charge; nor in the common school exercises was a light airy wit so much aimed at as good sound sense and grave reflections. . . . . Exceeding happy was he in his expression; his words flowing from him just though swift, and always inimitably expressive. The jejune and insipid explications of the common rank of commentators he held in the highest contempt, while he himself, with a delightful *copia verborum* struck out something very uncommon, something surprising. Terence's *vis comica* received new graces from his mouth, and Roscius then triumphed indeed, when Newborough explained. Was Livy to be read? Who ever fathomed, or rather found, his depths like him

whose soul was equally noble, equally sublime with his author? . . . Generous and hospitable was he, and knew as gracefully how to dispose of his money as how to receive it. To the poorer lads on the foundation he was known to be very noble, in supplying them with the proper books and other necessaries, and that in good quantity; being rightly apprised that the quickest natural parts, and the most promising genius might be cramped by the *res angusta domi*."[1]

A small book entitled "*Epigrammatum Delectus*" printed for the fourth time in 1689, is expressly stated to have been *In usum Scholæ Etonensis*. Martial predominates in it, but the compiler was not exclusive in his views, and found room for several productions of modern Latinists, as Sannazaro, Strozzi, Strada, Beza, Grotius, John Owen, Buchanan, and others. Another portion of the book consists of choice quotations from classical poets, and it ends with a collection of short Greek sentences accompanied by Latin translations. Very different to this must have been the books which Newborough used to give "to all young gentlemen who took their leave of him handsomely"— the first notice we find of the objectionable system of "leaving money." Newborough's enthusiastic discourses on the glories of ancient Greece and Rome, gave rise to a suspicion that he wished to inculcate Republican principles; but it so turned out that two of his pupils, St. John and Wyndham, became no less distinguished among the Tories, than two others, Walpole and Townshend, among the Whigs. He had a clear perception of talent in young men, and on being told of St. John's early success in the House of Commons, he said "I am impatient to hear that Robert Walpole has spoken, for I am con-

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4843, ff. 263—264.

vinced he will be a good orator."[1] So flourishing was the condition of the School under Newborough that the composer of his epitaph[2] did not hesitate to style it "*terrarum orbis per ipsum maximæ.*"

Newborough was a contributor to the fund raised in 1689 for rebuilding the Upper School, on the western side of the great quadrangle at Eton.[3] The necessity for this re-building arose from the faulty construction of Provost Allestree's work, which fell out of the perpendicular, and became actually dangerous a very few years after his death. A legacy of 300*l.* from Dr. Rosewell came in most opportunely, and more than 500*l.* was contributed by the College and its principal members. An appeal for assistance was then issued to old Etonians and the general public, explaining the proposed alterations.

"It is thought necessary by the College, upon the best advice they could get, to take down that building to the floor of the school if not to the foundation, and to erect another with walls of greater thickness and strength, and to carry up those walls thirty-three or thirty-four foot high, and then lay on a flat roof to be covered with lead, as all the rest of the College is, and to make a writing school with other convenient rooms below for the use of the school-masters. That so the old school may be fitted up and added to the Long Chamber, which will make room enough for the whole number of scholars and choristers to be lodged conveniently.

There is a building within twelve or fourteen yards of the Long Chamber which may be turned into an infirmary, with accommodation enough for ten or twelve at a time, which is more than any can remember to have been sick in the College at once."[4]

[1] Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole*, vol. i. p. 4.

[2] At Hitcham, Bucks.

[3] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 61.

[4] MS. by Provost Cradock in one of the drawers in the library at Eton.

A list of the contributors has been preserved, and in it we may notice the names of the Archbishop of York, the Lord Chief Justice Holt, Lord Godolphin, and John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, the intimate friend of Provost Allestree. The expenses of erecting the Upper School came to a little less than 2,300*l.*, the windows and other portions of the older building being evidently used over again. All the payments passed through the hands of John Hawtrey, one of the Fellows, who was deeply interested in the scheme.[1] We need hardly tell Etonians that the other alterations proposed were not carried out.

The Upper School seems to have been finished in 1694, and doors were hung in the gateway under it; but a strange dispute arose as to the desirability of engaging a porter to attend to them. Provost Cradock entertained a very decided opinion on the subject, and thought it "not only unsafe but very dishonourable for the College to be without that officer." It was still usual for the gates of the School Yard, of the Stable Yard, and of the cloisters, to stand open all through the night.

"In Mr. Rosewell's time, the schollers had frequently bottles of wine drawn up to their windows in baskets (though they are lockt in) and that is not to be prevented as long as their chamber lies open on both sides. In Dr. Roderick's time they got a false key to their own door and went four or five abroad at midnight, for which severall were expelled, that could not have hapned if the gates had been kept by a porter."[2]

Mischievous experiments on the locks of the schoolroom and of the Long Chamber had always been a

[1] *Eton Audit Books*, 1692—1693.

[2] *Lambeth MS.* 953, f. 18. March 27, 1694.

fruitful source of annoyance to the ruling powers;[1] but sports which we should now consider reprehensible were tolerated and even encouraged at Eton, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It seems that the College butcher had to provide a ram annually at election-tide, to be hunted and killed by the scholars.[2] We first hear of this barbarous pastime in 1687, when a "ram club" appears in the bill of "extras" for a boy named Patrick;[3] and another boy wrote to his father for leave to stay at Eton on the last day of the half, so as to have "ye satisfaction of seeing ye ram die here according to custom."[4]

Four of Newborough's pupils, viz.:—Lord Churchill, only son of the Earl of Marlborough, the two sons of Sir Benjamin Bathurst, and a certain Peter Boscawen, were for a time called away from their studies in 1696, in order to become the playfellows of the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne. On their arrival at the Castle, the young Duke proposed a mock battle, and they all fought in St. George's Hall with small weapons, until the sheath of Peter Bathurst's sword slipped off, and the Duke received a slight wound from the naked steel.[5]

The successful resistance of the Kingsmen to the undue exercise of the royal prerogative did not inspire the Fellows of Eton with a like spirit of independence, and on the death of Provost Cradock in 1695, they submitted without a struggle to a *mandamus* from Court.[6] It is possible that they might have acted

[1] *Eton Audit Rolls*, and *Books*, passim.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4839, f. 89.

[3] *Etoniana*, p. 62, quoting *Tanner MS.* 20, f. 62.

[4] Chattock and Wood's *Sketches of Eton*, p. 58.

[5] Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. viii. pp. 51, 52.

[6] *Eton Register*, vol. iv. f. 76. October 23, 1695.

differently if the person recommended to them had been any one less acceptable than their own Vice-Provost, Henry Godolphin, brother of the Minister. In him the College found a kind ruler and a generous benefactor. He set up the statue of Henry VI. in the centre of the School Yard at his own expense, and in 1700 he contributed 1000*l.* towards the fund for the alterations in the Church.[1]. The work undertaken in the previous year was carried out according to the ignorant taste of the time, no regard being paid to the original style of the building. The east wall of the Church was concealed from view by an elaborate altar-piece of inlaid wood; a new roof was constructed, and then plastered and painted; stalls and high panelling were placed in front of the old mural paintings; and an organ loft was reared on a set of fluted columns under the choir arch. The old altar rails were sent off to Burnham Church.[2] Seven new vaults were made, and some of the seats for the parishioners were removed into the so-called "ante-chapel."[3] The new wood-work, however inappropriate to its position, was good of its kind, and very costly.[4] It is popularly said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, but there is no mention of Eton in the published list of his works,[5] and it would rather appear that the architect employed was named Banks. The appeal of the College for funds to pay for these alterations met with a ready response, and 3,200*l.* were collected, King's College, Cambridge, contributing upwards of fifty

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4843, ff. 102, 103.
[2] *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. iv. p. 265.
[3] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 381.
[4] A pair of the fluted oak columns have found their way into the South Kensington Museum.
[5] Wren's *Parentalia.*

THE CHAPEL, A D. 1816.

guineas. The list of subscribers contains the names of Bishop Patrick, Lords Godolphin and Thomond, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir Bourchier Wray, and Dr. Roderick.[1] There seems to have been a good deal of *esprit de corps* among old Etonians at this period, and many of them used to meet in London once a year, in order to listen to a sermon, and then to dine together.[2]

When John Newborough found himself compelled by ill health to resign the post of Head-Master, he was succeeded by Andrew Snape, of King's College,[3] a preacher of considerable reputation. Dr. Snape was chaplain to Queen Anne, and a favourite at Court in her reign; but he could not adapt his theological and political views to those which became prevalent on the accession of the House of Hanover. His wrath was fairly roused by a latitudinarian sermon, preached by Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, in 1717, and found vent in a pamphlet which passed through seventeen editions in the course of a few months. In proclaiming himself the upholder of the authority of the Church, of the apostolical succession, and of the duty of fervency in prayer, Dr. Snape provoked a number of answers. Pamphlet followed pamphlet, and the "Bangorian Controversy," as it was called, became the main subject of debate "in coffee houses amongst the men, and at tea tables with the ladies."[4] The High Church party applauded him as the champion of orthodoxy, while his adversaries, generally anonymous, did not scruple to resort to personalities. One writer addressed a "Letter to the Scholars of Eaton," and another

[1] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 59.

[2] The sermons were usually preached either at St. Paul's or at St. Mary-le-Bow. There is a list of the preachers in *Rawl. MS. B.* 268, f. 279.

[3] *Eton Register*, vol. iv. f. 88. October 11, 1711.

[4] *Letter to Dr. Snape*, p. 1.

likened Dr. Snape to Orbilius, and sought to make him contemptible in verse :—

> "Pride and ill-nature seasons all his stile,
> Each paragraph o'erflows with pedant bile.
> His every period crabbed and severe
> Smells of the birch, and terrifies the ear."

The Snapes had been Sergeant-Farriers to the Kings of England for upwards of two centuries, and were somewhat proud of the fact; but the Head-Master of Eton was twitted with his low origin, and described as—

> "Sprung from the anvil and inured to flame." [1]

Party spirit ran so high at Eton that Thomas Thackeray, an Assistant Master of latitudinarian sympathies, had to throw up his place. He afterwards became Head-Master of Harrow, and was singled out by Bishop Hoadley to be Archdeacon of Wilts. It is to be hoped that he understood his duties better than his patron, who, though Bishop of Bangor for several years, never once visited his diocese.

Dr. Snape's pamphlets gave great offence to the Whigs, and his name, together with that of Dean Sherlock, was summarily removed from the list of Chaplains to the King.[2] Nevertheless, all the exertions of the Court in favour of Dr. Waddington, Fellow of Eton, failed to deter the self-willed Kingsmen from electing Dr. Snape as their Provost in 1719. The School of Eton had prospered under his management, and shortly before his departure the number of scholars had reached 399. The Head-Master was at the time accused of having added the name of a town

[1] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. ff. 106, 117.

[2] *Epistolary Correspondence, etc. of Bishop Atterbury*, vol. iii. p. 342.

boy to the list, without consulting the parents, in order to make up a total of 400.[1]

Henry Bland, who succeeded Andrew Snape at Eton, belonged to a different party, being a Whig in politics, and, if we may believe contemporary scandal, an Arian in creed.[2] He introduced a new system of Declamations, according to which two boys had to sustain opposite sides in an argument. This led to a good deal of rivalry, and, in one case to an undignified scuffle between two of the senior Collegers. Thomas Morell has recorded how he knocked William Battie's head against the wall of the Chapel, but how he was in turn paid out "with a swinging slap on the face three days afterwards" from his adversary's mother. Mrs. Battie was indeed a very zealous champion for her son, and once went so far as to charge Dr. Snape himself with postponing the time of a "remove" or examination, while Morell "staid out" with a tooth-ache. Battie afterwards set up as a physician at Uxbridge, and was befriended by Provost Godolphin, who on one occasion sent his own coach and four to fetch him to the Lodge. When the doctor was preparing to write a prescription, his patient sat up in bed and said "You need not trouble yourself to write, I only sent for you to give you credit in the neighbourhood!"[3]

Another promising pupil of Dr. Bland, Edward Littleton, went up to King's in 1716, and wrote thence to one of his old schoolfellows, explaining the change in the nature of his studies. The classics he says were neglected.

[1] *Sloane MS* 4843, f. 270.

[2] Preface to Willymott's *Thomas à Kempis.*

[3] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. pp. 600, 601.

"Now algebra, geometry,
Arithmetic, astronomy,
Optics, chronology, and statics,
All tiresome points of mathematics;
With twenty harder names than these,
Disturb my brains, and break my peace.
All seeming inconsistencies
Are solved by *a*'s and *b*'s;
Our senses are disprov'd by prisms,
Our arguments by syllogisms.
If I should confidently write—
This ink is black, this paper white,
Or, to express myself yet fuller,
Should say that black, or white's a colour,
They'd contradict it and perplex one
With motion, light, and its reflexion,
And solve th' apparent falsehood by
The curious texture of the eye.
Should I the poker want, and take it,
When't looks as hot as fire can make it,
And burn my finger and my coat,
They'd flatly tell me 'tis not hot;
The fire say they, has in't 'tis true
The power of causing heat in you;
But no more heat's in fire that heats you
Than there is pain in stick that beats you.
* * * *
We're told how planets roll on high
How large their orbits, and how nigh;
I hope in little time to know
Whether the moon's a cheese or no."[1]

A narrow manuscript roll[2] entitled a "Bill of Eton Schole," and dated 1718, shows the names of 353 boys. The successive forms were called Bible Seat, First Form, Lower Remove, Second Form, Lower Greek, Third Form, Fourth Form, Remove, Fifth Form, and Sixth Form. The lowest of these forms contained

[1] Printed in Dodsley's *Collection of Poems.*

[2] In the library at Eton.

24 boys, the highest 53. There were eight Assistant Masters—four in each part of the School. The exact date at which the Head-Master and Usher found themselves unable to manage the whole School does not appear in the registers, as the Assistant Masters were not, and are not, members of the College. John Newborough seems to have been an Assistant about 1680, and after this time many Kingsmen returned to their old school to take part in the work of education. Two of those who did so—Thomas Johnson, and William Willymott—were the authors or editors of books which have continued to be used at Eton until the present century. It was once customary for young noblemen to have private tutors, and a person named Graham acted in that capacity towards the Marquis of Graham, eldest son of the Duke of Montrose.[1] The condition of the School has always borne some relation to the prosperity of the upper class of society. In the year of the South Sea scheme, there were 425 names on the bill, or list; in the next year, when people were smarting under their losses, the number was reduced by nearly fifty.[2] There were generally more boys in the Lower School than in the Upper School.

We obtain a good idea of the average cost of education at an Eton boarding-master's[3] house in the early part of the eighteenth century from some MS. bills which have been preserved. The following is particularly interesting as being one of the earliest notices extant of the illustrious Lord Chatham.

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 399.
[2] *Ibid.* f. 270.
[3] This designation occurs in the *Eton Register of Burials.*

"Mr. William Pitt, his Bill. 1719.

Paid at ye House where Mr. Willm. was when he fell down		13	6
paid a Man & Horse to go with me		3	0
paid for a shaze		5	0
To the surgeon for attendance, bleeding, etc.	2	2	0
To the other surgeon for going to visit him	1	1	0
2 pr of stockings		6	6
paid for curing his Chilblanes		5	0
fire money to the Master		1	6
School sweeping 8*d.*, chapell 4*d.*, water[1] 3*d.*		1	3
Share of fire in his Chamber to Easter		10	0
6 pound of candles		3	6
A pr of garters			4
Halfe a year's cleaning shooes to Mids^r^.		5	0
Worstead & thread to mend his Linnen and stockings		1	0
Hatter's bill		1	8
Barber, a Quarter		7	6
Taylor's bill		3	6
Shoomaker's bill		19	6
Bookseller's bill	1	11	6
Writing master halfe a year Aug^st^. 7th	1	2	0
To Mr. Burchet halfe a years Tuition	4	4	0
To Mr. Good halfe a years Teaching	2	2	0
For halfe a years board due Aug^s^, 7th, 1719	12	10	0
	29	0	3"

Another bill for William Pitt, sent in exactly four years later, amounted to a few shillings less, many of the charges being alike. In 1723, the payment of 2*l.* 2*s.* "for halfe a years teaching" was made to Dr. Bland, the Head-Master, instead of to Francis Goode, the Usher. William Pitt was considered a promising scholar, as appears from the second part

[1] In a later bill this item appears as "cleansing ye water."

of the following letter addressed to his father by the tutor.

"Eton, Febry. 4th, 1722.

"Sr.

"I am very much concern'd that my letter should give you a fresh uneasiness, after so severe a fit of the gout. Believe me, Sr, my Design was not to throw off my Pupil[1] (as you understood by my Letter), but to advise what appeared to me most for his Advantage. He has unhappily lost a great deal of Time by his own negligence, but I think his natural abilities are so good, that he may recover it at the University, if he takes a good turn, which I imagine he will do upon his conversing more with men, and I am satisfied he is sufficiently furnished with Latin to enter upon those studies. Before I answer'd yr Letter, I thought it proper to talk with Doctor Bland, who has been very ill of a Fever ever since I had the Honour of yours, & this is the first day of his coming abroad, otherwise I had certainly wrote to you before. The Dr. presents his most humble service, & is of the same opinion with me, that yr son is capable of undertaking the studies of the University, because most of the Books that he will read are wrote in Latin, and it is the Greek tongue which he has found him deficient in.

"Yr younger son has made a great Progress since his coming hither, indeed I never was concern'd with a young gentleman of so good abilities, & at the same time of so good a Disposition, & there is no question to be made but he will answer all yr hopes.

"I am, Sr,

"Your most obedient & most humble servant,

"WILL. BURCHETT."

"To Robert Pitt, Esq. at Stratford near Old Sarum."

A letter written by William Pitt when he was almost

[1] Thomas Pitt, afterwards M.P., owner of Boconnoc, and father of the first Lord Camelford.

fifteen years of age[1] does not reflect much credit on the writing master :—

"Eaton, Septembr. ye 29th.

"Honed Sr,

"I write this to pay my duty to you, and to lett you know that I am well. I hope you and my mama have found a great benefit from the Bath, and it would be a very great satisfaction to me, to hear how you do; I was in hopes of an answer to my last letter, to have heard how you both did, and how I should direct my letters to you; for not knowing how to direct my letters, has hindered me writing to you, my time has been pretty much taken up for this three weaks, in my trying for to gett into the fiveth form, and I am now removed into it; pray my duty to mama and service to my uncle and aunt Stuart if now att the Bath. I am with great respect,

"Honed Sr

"Your most dutiful son

"W. PITT."[2]

It has been observed that William Pitt had three remarkable school-fellows—Charles Pratt, George Lyttleton, and Henry Fox—each of whom became, like himself, an eminent statesman and the founder of a peerage.[3] The second of these wrote two or three clever poems while still at Eton. Mr. Nichols has printed one of the half-yearly bills of a certain Walter Gough who boarded at Bartlet's in 1726. Most of the items in it correspond with those in William Pitt's bills, the most distinctive feature being an advance of 2*s.* 6*d.* to the boy on St. David's day, on account of his Welsh origin. During part of his career at Eton,

[1] Endorsed "From my son William Septr. 29th, recd Octr. 10th 1723."

[2] The MSS. quoted above occur in a small 4to. volume of Lord Chatham's Letters, in the possession of the Hon. G. M. Fortescue of Dropmore and Boconnoc.

[3] Creasy's *Eminent Etonians*, p. 276.

Walter Gough was the pupil of Edward Littleton, but the latter was elected to a Fellowship in 1726, and was consequently obliged to give up his tutorial duties.[1] Three out of the previous seven vacancies among the Fellows had been caused by the elevation of William Fleetwood, Francis Hare, and Stephen Weston, respectively, to bishoprics.

The Lower School and Long Chamber, from the Stable Yard.

The name of Weston still survives at Eton in the popular designation of what is officially called the "Stable Yard."

Another Etonian bishop, Edward Waddington, was

[1] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 239.

allowed to hold his Fellowship *in commendam*, very much to his own advantage if not to that of his diocese.

Richard Hill, who was elected Fellow in 1714, had, while in deacon's orders, been successively envoy to Brussels, Paymaster of the Forces in Flanders, and a Lord of the Admiralty. On resigning his civil appointments he had been ordained priest, but so lightly did he value his sacred profession, that he omitted all mention of it from the epitaph which he composed for his own tombstone.[1]

John Hawtrey, another Fellow, gave to the College the advowson of Burnham Church; and the advowsons of the Churches of Worplesdon, Farnham Royal, and Clewer, were acquired about the same time from the Duke of Somerset in exchange for that of Petworth Church, which was situated near one of his residences.[2]

The claim of the Provost and Fellows to 15*l.* a year in compensation for the three tuns of Gascony wine granted by Henry VI., and of 4*l.* 4*s.* a year for the impost duty granted by Elizabeth, was admitted by the Treasury in 1702; but their claim for arrears since 1674 and 1672 was surrendered in consideration of a renewal from the Crown of the lease of the Christopher Inn.[3]

Before closing this chapter we must notice Dr. Bland's appointment to the Deanery of Durham, which caused him to resign the office of Head Master in the summer 1728, though he retained his house at Eton a few months later. He owed his promotion to his steady adherence to the Whig

[1] *Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard Hill*, Preface.

[2] Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. iii. p. 99.

[3] *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxviii. No. 57.

party, on whose behalf he used to write political pamphlets and articles. Pope mentions

"Gratis-given Bland
Sent with a pass, and vagrant through the land."[1]

In the autumn of 1728, Dr. Bland rendered good service to the Government by receiving as his guest, either at Eton or at Windsor, the Duke of Ripperda, one of the most extraordinary adventurers who has ever fled to England for refuge.[2]

[1] *The Dunciad*, I, l. 232, 233.
[2] Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, vol. i. p. 318, and vol. ii. pp. 615, 616.

The Churchyard

1728—1760.

William George—Jacob Bryant—Horace Walpole—Gray's "Ode"—Visits of the Duke of Cumberland—Francis Goode—A Contested Election at King's—William Cooke—John Burton—The Library—Visit of George II.

WILLIAM GEORGE, who succeeded Henry Bland in the office of Head-Master,[1] was a scholar of the approved Etonian type, especially skilled in the composition of Latin verses;[2] but he is said to have been wanting in common sense and practical ability. One of his pupils, Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Chancellor, under the name of Earl Camden, describes him as naturally good natured and pleasant, yet ridiculous from his pedantic manners.

"He undertook the care of that School without parts, of the kind I mean that was necessary to govern it. This brought him under difficulties from which he had not either sense or spirit enough to extricate himself. These plagues and vexations wrought upon his temper, and made him sour. His absurdity, the gift of Nature, still remained; and by working upon a mind crossed by ill-success, made him not only foolish, but proud, ill-mannerly, and brutal."[3]

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[1] *Eton Register*, vol. iv. f. 116. May 29, 1728.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v. p. 339; vol. ix. p. 575.

[3] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i. p. 564.

Dr. George was popularly nick-named "Dionysius the tyrant."[2] He certainly was not very courteous to ladies. When a would-be blue-stocking repeated a few Latin verses to him over a card table as a specimen of her attainments, he retorted brusquely, "Madam, if you were in the lowest form of the Upper School I should lay you upon our block for that recitation, which contains in three lines two false quantities, and the same number of concords equally false."[3] Frederick, Prince of Wales is said to have peeped through a chink in the doors of the Upper School one morning, and to have been greatly amused at the bombastic style in which the Head-Master was explaining the Greek lesson.[4]

A list of the boys educated at Eton under Dr. George, would include the names of several of the most distinguished English statesmen and writers of the eighteenth century, but the records of their school-days are scanty. Jacob Bryant, the mythologist, did indeed in after years surprise George III. with an account of his performances, which has found a place in Miss Burney's diary :

"'You were an Etonian, Mr. Bryant,' said the King, 'but pray, for what were you most famous at school?' We all expected, from the celebrity of his scholarship to hear him answer, his Latin exercises; but, no such thing! 'Cudgelling, Sir; I was most famous for that.' While a general laugh followed this speech, he very gravely proceeded to particularise his feats: though unless you could see the diminutive

[1] Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 620.

[2] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 807.

[3] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 433. The details of the story there given are erroneous in several respects. Dr. Ayscough was not appointed tutor to the young princes until about two years after Dr. George had resigned his post at Eton, and they can hardly have been learning Greek at the respective ages of five and four.

figure, the weak, thin, feeble, little frame whence issued his proclamation of his powers, you can but very inadequately judge of the comic effect of his big talk. 'Your Majesty, Sir, knows General Conway? I broke his head for him, Sir.' The shout which ensued did not at all interfere with the steadiness of his further detail. 'And there's another man, Sir, a great stout fellow, Sir, as ever you saw—Dr. Gibbon of the Temple—I broke his head, too, Sir; I don't know if he remembers it.'" [1]

Bryant's physical powers were better employed on another occasion in rescuing Barnard, afterwards Provost, from a watery grave in the Thames.[2]

In genuine love for Eton few have ever surpassed Horace Walpole. He used often to revert with pleasure to his "quadruple alliance" with Ashton, Gray, and West, and on the occasion of a visit to his old haunts, he wrote the following letter, full of Eton slang, to his friend George Montagu:—

"Christopher Inn, Eton.

"The Christopher—Lord! how great I used to think anybody just landed at the Christopher! But here are no boys for me to send for—here I am, like Noah, just returned into his old world again, with all sorts of queer feels about me. By the way, the clock strikes the old cracked sound; I recollect so much, and remember so little, and want to play about, and am so afraid of my play fellows, and am ready to shirk Ashton, and can't help making fun of myself, and envy a dame over the way, that has just locked in her boarders, and is going to sit down in a little hot parlour to a very bad supper, so comfortably; and I could be so jolly a dog if I did not fat, which, by the way, is the first time the word was ever applicable to me. In short, I should be out of all bounds if I was to tell you half I feel, how young again I am one minute, and how old the

[1] Madame D'Arblay's *Diary*, vol. iii. p. 325.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 669; vol. viii. p. 534.

next. But do come and feel with me, when you will, to-morrow —adieu! If I don't compose myself a little more before Sunday morning, when Ashton is to preach, I shall certainly be in the bill for laughing at Church; but how to help it, to see him in the pulpit, when the last time I saw him here was standing up funking over against a Conduct to be catechised." [1]

The Christopher Inn A.D. 1828.[2]

From the lively Walpole, we must turn to his friend and schoolfellow, Thomas Gray, whose vein of melancholy is nowhere more perceptible than in his celebrated "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College." [3]

"Ye distant Spires, ye antique Towers,
That crown the watry Glade,

[1] *Letters of Horace Walpole* (ed. Cunningham), vol. i. p. 15.

[2] From a drawing by J. Buckler.

[3] As some justification for printing at full length a poem so well known, we have copied the spelling and the punctuation of the original folio edition of 1747.

Where grateful Science still adores
Her *Henry's* holy Shade;
And ye that from the stately Brow
Of WINDSOR'S Heights th' Expanse below
Of Grove, of Lawn, of Mead survey,
Whose Turf, whose Shade, whose Flowers among
Wanders the hoary *Thames* along
His Silver-winding Way.

"Ah happy Hills,[1] ah pleasing Shade,
Ah Fields belov'd in vain,
Where once my careless Childhood stray'd,
A Stranger yet to Pain!
I feel the Gales that from ye blow,
A momentary Bliss bestow,
As waving fresh their gladsome Wing,
My weary Soul they seem to sooth,
And, redolent of Joy and Youth
To breathe a second Spring.

"Say, Father *Thames*, for thou hast seen
Full many a sprightly Race
Disporting on thy Margent green
The Paths of Pleasure trace,
Who foremost now delight to cleave
With pliant Arm thy glassy Wave?
The captive Linnet which enthrall?
What idle Progeny succeed
To chase the rolling Circle's Speed,
Or urge the flying Ball?

"While some on earnest Business bent
Their murmuring Labours ply,
'Gainst graver Hours, that bring Constraint
To sweeten Liberty:
Some bold Adventurers disdain
The Limits of their little Reign,
And unknown Regions dare descry:
Still as they run they look behind,
They hear a Voice in every Wind,
And snatch a fearful Joy.

[1] Mr. Moultrie's emendation—substituting "Rills" for "Hills," is very tempting, as Eton and its neighbourhood are singularly flat.

"Gay Hope is theirs by Fancy fed,
Less pleasing when possest;
The Tear forgot as soon as shed,
The Sunshine of the Breast:
Theirs buxom Health of rosy Hue,
Wild Wit, Invention ever-new,
And lively Chear of Vigour born;
The thoughtless Day, the easy Night,
The Spirits pure, the Slumbers light,
That fly th' Approach of Morn.

"Alas, regardless of their Doom,
The little Victims play!
No Sense have they of Ills to come
Nor Care beyond to-day:
Yet see how all around 'em wait
The Ministers of human Fate,
And black Misfortune's baleful Train!
Ah, shew them where in Ambush stand
To seize their Prey the murth'rous Band!
Ah, tell them they are Men!

"These shall the Fury Passions tear,
The Vulturs of the Mind,
Disdainful Anger, pallid Fear,
And Shame that sculks behind;
Or pineing Love shall waste their Youth,
Or Jealousy with rankling Tooth,
That inly gnaws the secret Heart,
And Envy wan, and faded Care,
Grim-visag'd comfortless Despair,
And Sorrow's piercing Dart.

"Ambition this shall tempt to rise
Then whirl the Wretch from high,
To bitter Scorn a Sacrifice,
And grinning Infamy.
The Stings of Falshood, Those shall try,
And hard Unkindness' alter'd Eye,
That mocks the Tear it forc'd to flow;
And keen Remorse with Blood defil'd,
And moody Madness laughing wild
Amid severest Woe.

"Lo, in the Vale of Years beneath
A griesly Troop are seen,
The painful Family of Death,
More hideous than their Queen:
This racks the Joints, this fires the Veins,
That every labouring Sinew strains,
Those in the deeper Vitals rage:
Lo, Poverty, to fill the Band,
That numbs the Soul with icy Hand,
And slow-consuming Age.

"To each his Suff'rings: all are Men,
Condemn'd alike to groan;
The Tender for another's Pain
Th' Unfeeling for his own.
Yet ah! why should they know their Fate?
Since Happiness too swiftly flies.
Thought would destroy their Paradise.
No more; where Ignorance is Bliss
'Tis Folly to be wise."

Several of the expressions have been severely criticised, but we confine ourselves to endorsing the late Lord Carlisle's remark that "rollicking carelessness" would better describe the feelings of a boy out of bounds than "fearful joy."

Gray's enumeration of Eton pastimes is far from complete. Horace Walpole mentions games of cricket, and expeditions against bargemen as popular in his school-days,[1] and the ram-hunt used to be maintained with spirit at election-tide year after year. The young Duke of Cumberland came to take part in this sport, on the 1st of August, 1730.

"The Captain of the School presented him with a ram-club, with which H.R.H. struck the first stroke. H.R.H. was in at the death of the ram, and his club was bloodyed according

[1] *Letters of Horace Walpole*, May 6, 1736.

to custom. There was afterwards a speech made by the Captain of the School,[1] at which the Duke was present. He then proceeded to see the Hall, the Library, the School, and the Long Chamber, and it was generally observed that H.R.H. returned to Windsor very well pleased."[2]

It was on one of these occasions that an active ram crossed the Thames, and ran through the market-place at Windsor with the young hunters in full cry after it. Such severe exercise in summer was deemed dangerous to the health of the boys, so thenceforth the unfortunate rams were hamstrung, and, after the regular speech, deliberately beaten to death in Weston's Yard. The custom became so utterly barbarous after this alteration, that it was finally abolished in 1747; but as late as 1760 a ram was served up in pasties at the high table in hall, at the great dinner on Election Monday.[3]

The Duke of Cumberland's tutor, Stephen Poyntz, a Kingsman, and a good scholar, obtained a reversionary grant of the Provostship during the lifetime of Dr. Godolphin; but when the place actually became vacant he lost it through not being in holy orders.[4] Sir Robert Walpole bestowed it on his old schoolfellow and supporter Dr. Henry Bland, whom he had already appointed Dean of Durham.[5] This Prime Minister's constant patronage of Kingsmen and Etonians was a cause of annoyance to many persons, who had not been so fortunate as to know him in his earlier years.[6] One

[1] William Cooke afterwards Head-Master and Fellow of Eton, and Provost of King's. The speech is printed in his *Musæ Juveniles*. There is an allusion to this visit in the *Musæ Etonenses*, vol. ii. p. 115. "Arietis ad mortem venisti claviger."

[2] *Rawl. MS.* B. 266, f. 153.

[3] *Sloane MS.* 4839, f. 89.

[4] *Rawl. MS.* B. 265. f. 20.

[5] Carlisle's *History of the Bland Family*.

[6] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. f. 133.

of his visits to Eton is thus recorded by a Fellow, who was probably a Tory in politics.

"Mem. Aug. 7, 1735 being ye Thursday in Election Week, William Duke of Cumberland attended by his Governour Mr. Pointz and his Sub-Governour Mr. Windham, Sir Rob. Walpole, Lord Walpole, and Edwd Walpole Esqr, Lord Chancellor Talbot and his son Will. Talbot Esqr, the Duke of St. Albans, Lord Charles Cavendish, Lord Ila, and Lord Tankerville, all bred at Eton, Duke of Devonshire, Lord Harvy, Lord Harcourt, Mr. Winnington and others, came to Eton to hear ye Publick Exercises. For what Purpos ye Provost's Hall was fitted up with a Hautpas at ye upper end and a chair of state upon it, at ye lower end a place was raisd and raild in large enough for three Boys to speak abreast. The great Company satt in chairs semicircularly placed of each side ye Hall, ye rest stood behind. The Duke and Company were first entertained at Breakfast in ye Election Chamber, there being three Tables, ye one of fruit, another of sweetmeats and cakes, ye other venison Pasty etc. Tea Coffee and Chocolate were brought as called for. I believe there was four score people partook of this Breakfast. The exercises began with Declamations on this subject—*Spectant me mille loquentem.* Then followed long copies of verses on ye King and Queen and Duke and Chancellor but mostly on Sir Robert, and lastly extempore verses on ye same subjects but from different Themes. Tis to be wished that these Performances may be lost and forgott, that Posterity may not see how abandond this place was to flattery when Dr. B—— was Provost and when Sir Robert was first Minister. However ye Boys performed so well, that afterwards at Dinner there was a Collection made of about 140 guineas for ye 14 Boys that spoke, besides 100*l.* given to ye College. The Present shewd ye Design of ye Duke to be a Compliment to ye College, but ye Provost took all possible care that we shou'd have no share in ye compliment, tho we had in ye disposing of ye Present. For he receivd ye Duke, unattended by his Fellows, nor did he present them. They walked about as Strangers within their own walls."[2]

[1] Afterwards Duke of Argyle.

[2] *MS.* in the library at Eton.

It was probably on this occasion that the Duke of Cumberland gave to the College the green rugs which used to be annually displayed on the beds of the Scholars during the election week, until the subdivision of the Long Chamber thirty years ago. The obsequious verses are preserved in the British Museum,[1] as is also a volume of Latin poems addressed to Queen Caroline in 1732, by the Eton Scholars, on the subject of her Hermitage in Richmond Park.[2] The boys were not allowed to be idle in Dr. George's time, if we may judge by the following letter to the Duke of Newcastle from one of the private tutors.

"May it please your Grace,

"I am to make my Lord Lincoln's excuses for not writing, which considering all things a'n't bad ones. He has twice as much book (*sic*) and desire to play as ever he had in his life, and cant find a moments leisure; From construing and pearcing (*sic*) Greek he is gon to make verses and from verses to prose, and from prose to Greek again; what time for letters? and what a change from Claremont? Nevertheless ye number of boys in ye same case with himself makes ye Pill go down tho' tis a bitter one. He has been examined by ye Doctor and is placed in ye 4th Form, last remove, till further trial, tho I am of opinion 'tis better to keep him there than to hurry him through the school too fast. He is perfectly well in health.

"I am, etc.,

"HUME.[3]

"Eton, July y^e^ 19, 1733."

An advertisement in the "London Evening Post," of November 9, 1731, affords a curious insight into the manner in which the Usher used to eke out the scanty stipend allowed to him by the Statutes:—

[1] *Royal MS.* $\frac{315}{271.e}$

[2] *Royal MS.* $\frac{313}{273.e}$

[3] *The Academy*, May 15, 1875.

"Whereas Mr. Franc. Goode, under-master of Eaton, does hereby signify that there will be at Christmas next, or soon after, two vacancies in his school—viz., as assistants to him and tutors to the young gents; if any two gentlemen of either University (who have commenced the degree of B.A., at least) shall think themselves duly qualified, and are desirous of such an employment, let them enquire of John Potts, pickleman in Gracious Street, or at Mr. G.'s own house in Eaton College, where they may purchase the same at a reasonable rate, and on conditions fully to their own satisfaction.

"F. GOODE.

"N.B.—It was very erroneously reported that the last place was disposed of under 40*s*."

A severe contest for the Provostship of King's College began in the autumn of 1742, several months before the death of Dr. Snape. Ralph Thicknesse, an Assistant-Master at Eton, was at one time considered to have the best chance, and had just made arrangements for taking the necessary degree of D.D., when he fell down dead at a concert where he was playing the first fiddle in a composition of his own. The Head-Master of Eton was supported by Sir Robert Walpole and the moderate Whigs, while Thomas Thackeray and John Chapman were the candidates favoured by the other parties. A letter from Cambridge thus describes the proceedings:—

"The Fellows went into Chapel on Monday, before noon in the morning, as the Statute directs. After prayers, and sacrament, they began to vote—22 for George; 16 for Thackeray; 10 for Chapman. Thus they continued, scrutinizing, and walking about, eating, and sleeping; some of them smoaking. Still the same numbers for each candidate, till yesterday about noon (for they held that in the 48 hours allowed for the Election no adjournment could be made) when the Tories, Chapman's friends, refusing absolutely to concur with either of the

two other parties, Thackeray's votes went over to George by agreement, and he was declared.

"A friend of mine, a curious man, tells me he took a survey of his brothers at the hour of two in the morning, and that never was a more curious, or a more diverting spectacle. Some, wrapped in blankets, erect in their stalls like mummies; others asleep on cushions, like so many Gothic tombs. Here a red cap over a wig; there a face lost in the cape of a rug. One blowing a chafing-dish with a surplice sleeve; another warming a little negus, or sipping 'Coke upon Littleton,' *i.e.* tent and brandy. Thus did they combat the cold of that frosty night, which has not killed any of them, to my infinite surprize."[1]

William Cooke, one of the Assistant-Masters, who was appointed to succeed Dr. George at Eton, broke down in health within three years, and had to resign. The boys were glad enough to escape from his severe discipline.[2] He afterwards incurred the enmity of Cole the antiquary, who made no attempt to conceal his own feelings in the following biographical sketch:—

"William Cook, D.D, Fellow of King's, Assistant at Eton, made Master of the Schole, for which post being found not equal, he was made Fellow of the College to let him down gently; and to get rid of his Impertinence, Insolence, and other unamiable Qualities, he was strongly recommended to be Provost of King's on Dr. Sumner's death. It is not the first time a man's unsocial and bad disposition has been the occasion of his advancement. I know the College would be delighted to kick him up higher, so that they could get rid of a formal important Pedant, who will be a schoolmaster in whatever station of life his fortune may advance him to."[3]

The studied acrimony of such a passage is almost enough to make one doubt its justice, and closer inquiry

[1] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i. p. 95, and vol. iii. p. 140.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 587; vol. ix. pp. 629—631.

[3] *Cole's MS.* vol. xlvii. f. 213.

proves that there was an interval of at least a year and a half between Dr. Cooke's resignation of the Head-Mastership, and his election to a Fellowship. It is almost superfluous to observe that the old Etonians at Cambridge knew well enough what sort of man they were choosing to preside over their College, but it is not improbable that a boy who published a Greek Tragedy while still at Eton, grew up somewhat of a pedant. Dr. Cooke's profile was exactly delineated in an engraving of an ass, dressed as a schoolmaster in Spence's "*Polymetis*," and, although it has since been contended that the likeness was accidental, it is clear that the plate had to be omitted from the second edition of the book.[1]

John Sumner, who was appointed Head-Master in 1745,[2] and Richard Sleech, who was elected Provost in the following year, do not demand any particular notice. Both these surnames occur frequently in the *Registrum Regale*. One very natural consequence of the release of the Fellows from compulsory celibacy, was that they became closely connected with one another by intermarriages in their families. Before the days of genuine examinations, the members of certain families looked upon Scholarships at Eton and Fellowships at King's almost as part of their birthright.

John Burton, by far the most distinguished Fellow of Eton in the middle of the eighteenth century, was an Oxonian, and owed his place to his having been tutor to a son of Dr. Bland. In 1733 he was presented to the living of Mapledurham, vacant by the death of Dr. Littleton;

[1] Spence's *Anecdotes* (ed. Singer), p. xiii. See the engraving at the end of the 17th chapter of *Polymetis*.

[2] *Eton Register*, vol. iv. f. 145. December 23, 1745.

"He found the widow and her daughter at the parsonage house, and desired them to remain there. Some time after a neighbouring clergyman happened to call on him, and found Mrs. Littleton shaving John Burton. He told him that the thing was indecent, and ought to be set to rights. Burton proposed marriage, and was accepted."[1]

After the death of his wife, Dr. Burton resided chiefly at Eton, and he used to give lessons in divinity at his own house to some of the boys.[2] Some of his learned works were published on the spot by Joseph Pote, an enterprising man, best known for his History of Windsor, and his *Registrum Regale*. The Eton boys had little sympathy with commercial pursuits, and used to sing:—

"Jos Pote of Eton, a man of great renown,
Buys a book for sixpence, and sells it for a crown."

The Eton press is still in the hands of Joseph Pote's descendants, and many members of the family have been educated on the foundation.

A good deal of attention was paid to the College library during the first half of the eighteenth century. The collection of books had not been materially enlarged since the palmy days of Sir Henry Savile, but for some reason, it was resolved in 1728, to remove it to a more spacious apartment; and a new building, occupying the whole length of the southern side of the cloister, was accordingly erected for the purpose, in the following year, at a cost of about 4,000*l*. No attempt was made to imitate the details, or even the general form and style of the original architecture of the College,

[1] Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*, addenda.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, and *Illustrations of Literature*. *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xli. p. 305.

and the result is far from harmonious. The shelves were scarcely finished, before contributions of books, or of money for buying books, began to pour in, and thus for the third time in the course of its existence, the library was brought up to the standard of the day.[1]

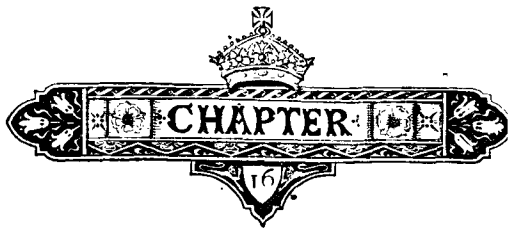
Two Fellows, Thomas Evans and John Reynolds, deserve notice among the benefactors to the College, the former as the donor of the advowson of Hitcham Church, the latter as the founder of three Exhibitions, for Superannuated Scholars, worth about 50*l.* a-piece.

We close this chapter with an extract from a London newspaper of the year 1747 :—

"*August* 11*th.* King George II. visited the College and School of Eton, when, on a short notice, Master Slater of Bedford, Master Masham of Reading, and Master Williams of London, spoke each a Latin speech (most probably made by their masters) with which his Majesty seemed exceedingly well pleased and obtained for them a week's holidays. To the young orators five guineas each had been more acceptable." [1]

[1] *Rawl. MS.* B. 266, f. 159.

College Plate.



ETON LIFE

IN THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THERE is an interval of about two hundred years between the date of William Malim's *Consuetudinarium*,[1] and that of another highly interesting manuscript which affords us a minute account of the system of education pursued at Eton in the early part of the reign of George III., a system which continued almost unaltered until forty years ago, and of which many traces remain even in these days of scholastic reform. The document in question was drawn up between the years 1768 and 1775, for Thomas James, an Eton man, who subsequently acquired a great reputation as Head-Master of Rugby.[2] It has never been printed, transcribed, or noticed by any writer, so that we feel justified in making a somewhat lengthy abstract of its contents.

It reveals a much milder form of discipline than that which prevailed under Malim, one radical difference

[1] See Chapter viii.

[2] It is now in the possession of his grandson, the Rev. C. C. James, Assistant Master at Eton.

being that in the eighteenth century, the boys prepared their lessons at the boarding-houses, whereas in the sixteenth century all the work was done in school, a change which was partly due to the increased number and reduced price of books, and partly to the introduction of the tutorial system. The general tendency of society towards later hours for rising and for going to bed, had naturally affected Eton, but it is not so easy to account for the great extension of the time allowed for recreation. We find that even in a regular week, Tuesday was a whole holiday, Thursday a half-holiday, and Saturday a "play-at-four."

On the three stricter working days, the school-hours lasted from eight to nine, from eleven to twelve, from three to four, and from five to six, except that on Friday the first lesson in the afternoon lasted from two to half-past three. We are expressly told that Friday's business was considered "very material," and that it should be interfered with as little as possible. On Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the boys in the fourth form had to get up earlier than the others, for "six o'clock school," which in reality began a little before seven, and lasted about three-quarters-of-an-hour. Thus the fourth form had five regular lessons on a "whole school-day."

Whole holidays in the eighteenth century were not abridged by early school, as in recent times, and the boys were free to lie in bed later than usual, being only obliged to answer to their names at "absence" in the School Yard at nine o'clock. They had to attend Chapel at eleven, and again at three. On half-holidays the Fifth Form Præpostor used to read prayers in school at noon, and the boys had to be at absence at two, and at Chapel at three. In summer, absence

was called at six o'clock on all holidays, half-holidays, and "play-at-fours;" in winter, the boarding-houses were locked up at that hour, and the Assistant-Masters went round to call over the names in each house. The half-holiday on Thursday in regular weeks used to be granted by the Provost, at the request of a member of the sixth form who had done a specially good exercise. The boy who was thus "sent up for play" was allowed to absent himself from eleven o'clock school on Thursday, in order to copy out, on gilt-edged paper, the exercise which he had to present to the Provost at noon.[1] Failing this, Thursday would have been only a play-at-four. On all play-at-fours, except Saturday, the Fifth Form Præpostor read prayers in school immediately after the three o'clock lesson,[2] and then the boys were at liberty for the rest of the afternoon. On Saturday, the only lesson in the afternoon was at two o'clock, and it was followed by Chapel at three.

Such was the routine of a regular week, but two regular weeks did not often occur consecutively. All the ordinary arrangements were liable to be thrown out by the occurrence of a red-letter day, inasmuch as each of these festivals was observed as a holiday and its vigil as a half-holiday. Then, too, there were Founder's days, and Court days (or anniversaries of the births, marriages, &c., of the principal members of the royal family) which disturbed the week if they fell on any day except Sunday or Tuesday. As some security against excessive interruption of the necessary studies, elaborate rules were made, for shifting the

[1] The three series of "*Musæ Etonenses*" have been compiled from these compositions, which are preserved in the library.

[2] All the prayers in use at Eton at this date are printed in a small volume, entitled "*Preces quotidianæ in usum Scholæ Collegii Regalis apud Etonam.* Etonæ, 1809."

"business" of the stricter days on to the easier days, though this could not be done to any great extent, as three whole school-days were never allowed to come together, and no school-hour could ever be imposed on Saturday, after four o'clock.

The Collegers dined at twelve o'clock every day,[1] and supped at six on whole school-days, and at five on other days. They assembled in the hall at seven every night, and sat there reading for an hour, under the care of the captain of the school. At eight they proceeded to the Lower School, where they recited the prayers, which used, in earlier times, to be recited in the Long Chamber.[2] They were then locked up for the night. On Sunday morning they went to the Upper School to sing the 100th Psalm, and to join in prayers read by the Fifth Form Præpostor. Oppidans and Collegers alike went to church at ten o'clock on Sundays, and they all had to sit in the Upper School between two and three, while a member of the fifth form read aloud four or five pages of the "Whole Duty of Man." The afternoon service was at three.

On turning to the time-table of the studies pursued throughout the School, we find that there was little difference between those of the sixth and the fifth forms, which together constituted the Head-Master's division—about 120 boys in all. In a regular week, these two Forms had to attend school seventeen times,

[1] The old grace was sung before and after dinner on Sundays, as at present.

[2] These prayers were all in Latin. After a collect, the Lord's Prayer, Versicles and Responses, the Apostles' Creed, the boys sang the hymn beginning:—

"*Salvator mundi, Domine,*
Qui nos servâsti hodie,"

which occurs in the office of compline on double feasts in the *Sarum Breviary*. This was followed by Versicles and Responses, Collects, and the Prayer of St. Chrysostom from the Church Service.

viz., ten times for construing, and seven times for repetition. The construing-lessons were as follows :—
Homer, twice, about 35 lines each time.
Lucian, twice, about 40 lines each time.
Virgil, twice, about 30 lines each time.
"*Scriptores Romani*," twice, about 40 lines each time.
"*Poetæ Græci*," about 35 lines.
Horace (hexameters) about 60 lines.

This Horace, and the double lessons of Homer-Virgil, and "*Poetæ Græci*," constituted four of the subjects for repetition. Two of the remaining saying-lessons were taken from the "*Selecta ex Ovidio, Tibullo et Propertio*" (for the fifth form), or from the "*Epigrammatum Delectus*" (for the sixth form), while on Monday morning about twenty verses of the Greek Testament had to be said by heart. At all the repetition lessons, each boy was allowed to go out of school as soon as he had repeated his part.

In the summer, between Whitsuntide and Electiontide, the Odes of Horace were construed instead of Lucian, Virgil, and the "*Scriptores Romani*," and were moreover, repeated by heart instead of the "*Selecta ex Ovidio*," and the "*Epigrammatum Delectus.*" The last week before the summer and winter holidays respectively, was entirely set apart for the study of Greek plays. The boys in the sixth form, and those in the upper part of the fifth, had two extra school-hours every week all the year round, viz., from nine to ten on Monday and Saturday mornings, when they had to construe about a hundred lines of a Greek play, generally taken from the "*Pentalogia*" of Dr. Burton,[1] or from Aristophanes. At the ordinary lessons, the

[1] The five plays were—*Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Œdipus Coloneus*, *Antigone*, *Phœnissæ*, and *Septem contra Thebas.*

members of the sixth form were generally called up to construe, before those of the Fifth, and it is remarkable that the former had to turn the Homer into Latin, instead of into English. The boys in the fifth form were expected to be able to parse the words, and to quote rules in grammar and parallel passages.

"The Sixth Form boys, and the Fifth, are supposed to read at their leisure hours, Dr. Middelton's 'Cicero,' Tully's 'Offices,' Ovid's long and short verses, 'Spectator,' etc., Milton, Pope, Roman History, Grecian History, Potter's 'Antiquities,' and Kennet's and all other books necessary towards making a compleat scholar."

All the boys in the fifth form had to compose three Latin exercises every week, viz., an original theme of not less than twenty lines, a copy of verses of not less than ten elegiac couplets, and five or six stanzas of lyrics on the same subject as the other verses. In the sixth form, the theme and verses were rather longer, and Greek iambics took the place of the Latin lyrics, These three exercises were written in play-time, and were shown up to the master at repetition lessons. In irregular weeks, a translation from Latin into English was exacted, as some compensation for work omitted.

"If the week be regular, the master sets an extempore theme at three o'clock school [on Monday], and the boys are to make four long and short verses on it in the manner of Martial, like this on

OTIOSUS.

"*Occurris quocunque loco mihi, Posthume, clamas*
Protinus, et prima est hæc tua vox, 'quid agis?'
Hoc, si me decies una conveneris hora,
Dicis; habes puto tu, Posthume, nil quod agas."

BREVITAS.

"*Si placeat Brevitas, hoc breve carmen habe.*"[1]

[1] Several such epigrams may be seen in the note-book of an old Etonian of the time of the Commonwealth, now in the Bodleian

"If the boys are not able to cut a joke on the theme, they ought by no means to be punished; however, it will be right to have an extempore, which must be shewn to the master and read in five o'clock school.

"We have Declamations made about a month before every holidays. We have likewise Speeches which are spoken before the school, with the emphasis and proper stress on particular words. These Speeches are spoken on Saturday at four o'clock, and no doubt learn the boys to read with propriety. The Declamations are spoken on Saturday immediately after the business of eleven o'clock school, almost a fortnight before every breaking up. The sixth form boys only speak and declame, and they [are] suffered to skip a whole week's exercises, if they have a Declamation to make, or Speech to get [up]. Our Speeches are taken, some from Tully, some from Sallust, some from Livy, etc."

In a regular week, the boys in the Remove construed—

"*Poetæ Græci*," twice, about 16 lines each time.
Virgil, twice, about 30 lines each time.
Horace (Odes), twice.
Pomponius Mela twice.
Cornelius Nepos once.

They had two repetition lessons in Greek Grammar,

Library, *Rawl. Misc. MS.* 762. The following on the respective characters of Oxford and Cambridge, occurs on f. 18:—

"*Quos vexat sua pauperies, hos excipit Isis;*
Non nisi divitibus Chamias unda patet."

The two following are transcribed in a manuscript book, now in the possession of J. H. Patteson, Esq. The first must have been written in the earlier part of the eighteenth century:—

PAYNE. "*SAPERE EST FARI.*"

"*Si sapiant taceant alii, WALPOLE diserte,*
Nunquam si sapias tu tacuisse velis."

In the reign of George III. we find—

"*EX NIHILO NIHIL FIT.*"

"*Ex nihilo nil fit, veteres cecinere poetæ,*
Ex NILO NELSON. Quid fuit ille nihil?"

one in Virgil, Horace, and *Poetæ Græci* respectively, and two lessons in Geography. They had to draw a map every week, in addition to their theme, elegiac verses, and lyrics.

In a regular week, the boys in the Fourth Form construed—

Farnaby's "*Delectus*," three times, about 12 lines each time.
Ovid's Metamorphoses, twice, about 25 lines each time.
"*Electa ex Ovidio*" &c., twice, about 16 lines each time.
Æsop, twice.
Cæsar, twice.
Terence, twice.
Greek Testament, about 12 verses.

They had three repetition lessons in Greek Grammar, and one each in Greek Testament, Ovid, and the *Electa*. They had to compose two sets of elegiac verses, not less than six couplets each time, and an extempore of two couplets, and to translate into Latin six sentences from Willymott's "Peculiars."

The studies of the boys in the Lower School need not be given in detail.

In "Upper Greek" and "Lower Greek," the books used were—the Latin Testament, "*Selecta e Profanis*," Ovid, Terence, the Church Catechism in Latin, and the Greek Grammar. In "Sense" and "Nonsense," the work was very similar, but the lessons were shorter, and Terence was omitted. The names of these divisions indicate the character of the verses written by the boys.

In the Second Form, the books studied were Latin Testament, Catechism, Grammar, and Phædrus.

In the First Form, nothing was learnt except Latin Grammar.

In addition to learning the lessons enumerated above, all the boys had to repair to the School from ten to eleven o'clock and from two to three, on holidays, and from two to three on half-holidays. During these hours the younger boys were exercised in writing, and in arithmetic,[1] while some of the fifth form were learning Geography,[2] or Algebra. Those who stayed at Eton long enough, went through part of Euclid, and thus, in our author's opinion, could proceed to College "compleat scholars."

The following passage is very characteristic :—

"When boys are removed from one form to another, we have a custom of trying them in the books they have already learned, and in such sort of exercises as they have been used to make. If their tryal is satisfactory they are advanced with glory, if otherwise kept back to their shame. The time allowed for trying boys for their removes is not to be in a school hour, but at some hour, which the Master shall appoint on a holyday. In all the different removes made in the forms . . . . these tryals will be necessary to raise emulation in the boys.

"If boys gain their removes with honour, we have a good custom of rewarding each with a shilling, if high in the school 2*s.* 6*d.*, which is given them by the Dames, and placed to the father's account, who, no doubt, will be glad to pay that which may conduce so much to the improvement of his son's learning and application. The same custom obtains, when a boy distinguishes himself by a good exercise, or wins a place.

"In order to encourage the industry of boys, the Master now and then gives a book to a boy who excells (*sic*), and takes much pains with his exercise. This [is] a great help towards encouraging diligence and ambition. Sometimes a boy looses (*sic*) a place through idleness. The boys in the lower part of

[1] A contemporary MS. gives the names of three writing masters, two of whom kept boarding houses, two French masters, a drawing master, a dancing master, and a fencing master.

[2] The authors read for geography were — Pomponius Mela, Cornelius Nepos, Cellarius, and Salmon.

the school are encouraged in challenging one another for places. When this happens, the Master tries both, and judges of their performances, and accordingly determines."

"The vacations are three times in the year, Easter, Xstmas, and August, vulgarly called Bartlemetide—a most strange corruption from St. Bartholomew's name. The Xstmas holydays last a month, and the School breaks up the 2nd Monday in December, about the 10th, 12th, 14th, or 15th day of the month. The Easter holydays last a fortnight, and the School breaks up on the Monday before Easter Sunday. Our Task at Easter is some short chapter of Jeremiah, which is to be turned into Long Verses, or Long and Short Verses, or Asclepiads, or Alcaics, or whatever metre the boys chuse; many of which Tasks beg Half Holydays, if the boys take pains with them. The Holydays at August (at which time you may try the uppermost in *Funebres Orationes*, and fit them for College) begin the first Monday in August and last a month.

"Prepostors or monitors are chosen for this purpose, viz. to gather exercises, to mark the boys' names every School time, and Church time, to write down the names of those boys who are not present at the time of absence. When these Prepostors, five in number (one to every form, except the Sixth, which [shall] be spoken of particularly) find any boys missing, they inquire about the reason of their absence at the Dames who keep the Boarding houses, and bring an excuse for [it] in the Dame's handwriting, in this manner,

James, a cold
Mary Naylor.

These Prepostors let the Master know likewise, if any boy after confinement for some disorder[1] returns into the School at any particular School hour.

"The Sixth Form hath two Prepostors (one for the Upper, and another for the Lower School). . . . . The Upper Prepostor calls over the boys' names at absence, delivers the rod to the Master, when he punishes a boy, at the same time one or two of the other Prepostors attend to assist at the *execution*. The Upper Prepostor walks round the School to keep the boys

[1] "Staying out" cancelled in the MS.

Sixth Form Bench, and Fellows' Eyot.

quiet in eleven o'clock school, and five o'clock school. The Lower Prepostor does the same in eight o'clock school and three. These Prepostors, chosen weekly, take it by turns to attend the six o'clock [lesson] in the summer when the Lower School go in, in order to keep them quiet. The fifth form Prepostor, winter and summer, attends six o'clock lesson to say the prayers. These Prepostors are chosen weekly. The sixth form Prepostors only are excused the business of the School during the time of their office."

The Fifth Form Præpostor read prayers at the end of the last school time of every day.

"There are certain bounds fixed to the School, and the whole sixth form can have any boy punished, if they [find] him beyond these bounds. They can likewise have a boy [punished] for not making his own exercise, swearing, drinking, or any other fault; which power granted to them has been one great means of preserving regularity." [1]

Having thus noticed the principal contents of the manuscript which describes the studies and discipline of Eton School a hundred years ago, we turn to another manuscript of about the same date,[2] in which we find the following list of games—

"Cricket, Fives, Shirking Walls, Scrambling Walls, Bally Cally, Battledores, Peg-top, Peg in the ring, Goals, Hopscotch, Heading, Conquering Lobs, Hoops, Marbles, Trap ball, Steal baggage, Puss in the corner, Cut Gallows, Kites, Cloyster and Flyer Gigs, Tops, Humming-tops, Hunt the hare, Hunt the dark lanthorn, Chuck, Sinks, Starecaps, Hurtlecap."

The game of "goals" was probably played in the "football fields," which are mentioned in another part of the manuscript; and "heading" may be an

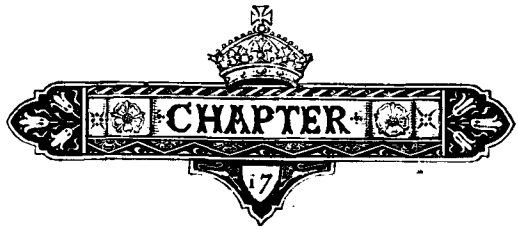
[1] According to Jeremiah Milles's pamphlet (see next chapter) the monitorial power was only vested in the first seven Collegers, and the first ten Oppidans.

[2] It is called "*Nugæ Etonenses*," and belongs to the Rev. J. C. B. Riddell.

old expression for taking "headers." There were certainly bathing-places at "Sandy hole, Cuckow ware (*sic*), Head pile, Pope's hole, Cotton's hole, South hope, and Dickson's hole." The three long boats were called "Piper's Green," "Snake," and "My Guinea's Lion," the third of which evidently took its name from "Guinea" Piper, a celebrated waterman of the day, and the first must have belonged to one of his relations, Dick or Jack Piper.[1]

Within a small radius of the College, the boys could go to see a criminal called Watkins, hanging in chains, or at stated times they could witness pony races at Datchet, at Chalvey, and in South Meadow. If they wished to accomplish longer distances, they could hire horses and ride to Sunning Hill, Gerard's Cross, Cranford Bridge, Maidenhead Bridge, or—rarest treat of all—to Ascot races. Fishing rods and guns were equally at their service. They could play billiards at Lawrington's or Sibson's, and tennis at Jermyn's. They could imbibe mild punch at the "Christopher," and they could see cock-fighting in Bedford's Yard, and bull-baiting in Bachelor's Acre. If however, they remained absent beyond a reasonable time, they were liable to be brought back to Eton ignominiously, by Jack Cutler the "Pursuivant of Runaways," or by one of his four Assistants,—functionaries who ranked with the College gardener, the clock-winder, and the rod-maker.

[1] The island in the Thames from which the fireworks are annually discharged on the 4th of June is still called "Piper's Eyot."



1760—1781.

First Visit of George III.—Building Operations—Edward Barnard—Fox and Hare—John Foster—The Rebellion of 1768—A Public Flogging—The Election of 1778—Lord Wellesley—Richard Porson—Theatricals—Dr. Barnard as Provost.

TON, lying as it does almost under the shadow of Windsor Castle, has usually enjoyed an ample share of royal favour, but no King since the days of Henry VI. has shown a warmer interest in all that concerned the College than George III., who could hardly have been more familiar with its traditions and customs, if he had himself been educated within its walls. When he and his young queen were expected to pass through the town for the first time, in September 1762, all the boys, headed by the Provost, Fellows, and Masters, were drawn up in front of the churchyard to welcome them; but no notice having been given of the intended demonstration, the carriage proceeded at a rapid pace towards Windsor, without stopping for a moment. The Provost soon had an opportunity of delivering the complimentary speeches he had prepared,

for the King and Queen were much distressed at the idea of having cast a slight on such loyal subjects, and devoted several hours to an inspection of the College on the following Saturday. They came in some state accompanied by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Talbot, who bore white staves of office, and by several Lords in Waiting. The Provost and Fellows received them at the great gates, and conducted them to seats of honour in the Upper School, where the Masters and boys were awaiting them. An English oration, lasting some five minutes, was pronounced by Foote, the Captain of the Oppidans, as the elocution of Burrough the Captain of the School was not considered good enough for the occasion. Thence the royal party went to see the Long Chamber, and the boys were conveyed "expeditiously and silently" to their seats in the Chapel. No religious service was held, but a solemn piece of music was performed on the organ accompanied by a military band, while the King and Queen walked up and down looking at the boys.

"From thence their majesties went to the hall, and to the library, where many of the young noblemen were presented to them. They also spent a considerable time in the Election Chamber, examining the valuable collection of drawings, etc. which had been carried there for their inspection."

"The King ordered six holidays, and the Provost desired Lord Cantilupe to ask the Queen if she would please to have three, upon which she went up to him and asked for three in English, and coloured very much. The King was gracious beyond expression, and asked the Provost what would be proper for him to give. He said they desired nothing, being quite satisfied with the honour of seeing his Majesty. He said he would give something, and would give any sum that the Provost would name."

It is not clear whether the sum he gave to the Col-

ETON COLLEGE, FROM ROMNEY LOCK.

lege was 100*l.* or 230*l.* The boys thought more about the promised holidays, and shouted lustily "*Vivant Rex et Regina*," as the royal chaise drove off from the door of the Provost's Lodge. The King and Queen often descanted with pleasure on their visit to Eton, which, they said, gratified them much more than all the pomp and show connected with a grand installation of the Knights of the Garter in the same week.[1]

An important change in the external appearance of the College had been made shortly before this royal visit, by the addition of an attic story to the northern and eastern sides of the cloister. The architect was careful to carry up the towers and battlements in the same proportions as before, and the effect has certainly been to give dignity to the whole pile of buildings, as seen from the Playing Fields, and from Romney Lock, while the comfort of the Fellows has been materially increased. On the other hand, the difference between the architectural details of the fifteenth century and those of the eighteenth, is only too apparent, and the long sash windows which were substituted for the old mullioned windows on the first floor, are very unsightly. These alterations were commenced in 1759, and cost upwards of 1,900*l.* Six years later, the great clock in the School Yard was removed from its ancient position in the eastern bay of the Church, and placed in Lupton's Tower, a pair of picturesque turrets being erected to receive the bells.[2] In 1769, the Ante-Chapel was

[1] There are three contemporary accounts of this visit of George III. to Eton, each supplying some particulars not noticed in the others. They occur respectively in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, vol. xxvi. p. 470, in the *Annual Register*, vol. v. p. 105, and in an unpublished letter, at Stowe, from F. Godolphin, to Dr. Lyttelton.

[2] The line of the lean-to roof of the old clock-chamber may still be traced by a patch of dark stones in the buttresses between which the master ordinarily

repaired, but we can hardly agree with Carlisle, in saying that it was "*beautified* with Stucco-work."[1] Many of the parishioners ceased to attend the Collegiate Church, on the opening of a chapel of ease, erected in that year by William Hetherington, one of the Fellows, and, by repute, the richest clergyman in England.[2]

The Head-Master during a great part of Dr. Sleech's tenure of the Provostship was Edward Barnard, who had only obtained the post after a severe contest with Thomas Dampier, the Usher. The College seems to have selected the right man, for no Head-Master of Eton before or since his day, has attained a higher reputation for administrative ability. Without being a profound scholar in any branch of literature, he was indued with a refined taste which instantly perceived the spirit and beauties of whatever author he was studying or expounding. One of his pupils says that "he corrected with grace, and with good humour everything that was vicious in the mode of reading or construing. When he read our compositions he made them his own by the charm of his accent, and the just emphasis that he laid. When he gave out a subject for prose or verse, it was a treat." His manner was gentlemanlike and dignified, though he had some difficulty in restraining his natural tendency to joking and caricature.[3] Another writer says that Dr. Barnard "had that power of impressing his dictates and opin-

stands, when calling "absence" for the lower boys—or rather for the Remove. In order to compensate the Provost for the accommodation which he thus lost, an opening was cut through the thick wall of his dining-room, and a section of the northern side of the cloister was added to the Lodge. It is curious to trace the encroachments of successive Provosts.

[1] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 60.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 294.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. viii. pp. 543—551.

ions on his scholars, which lessened the necessity of practising corporal correction. He knew how to awaken love, and create fear with admirable address. Boys, who would have been hardened by the infliction of punishment, trembled at his rebuke."[1] He overcame several attempts at rebellion with the vigour and tact of a statesman. Thus it was that in less than eleven years, the number of boys at Eton rose from about 300 to over 500, while the rival school at Westminster made little or no progress in the public estimation. Two additional Masters were appointed in 1755, and two more in 1760, the whole number being thus raised to ten.[2]

Dr. Barnard is said to have possessed in an eminent degree the power of discerning the character of those under his care, admiring genius and spirit even when they did not run in the ordinary groove. When Sir John Macdonald, "the young Marcellus of his day," joined the School, he was utterly unskilled in the art of Latin versification, the crucial test of Eton scholarship, but Barnard at once placed him at the top of his form, saying to the other boys, "I am going to put over your heads a boy who cannot write a verse, and I do not care whether he will ever be a poet or no, but I will trust him in your hands; for I know my boys, and how generous they are to merit." This confidence was well founded, and Macdonald soon proved that he could hold his own in writing verses, as well as in other branches of learning.[3]

Dr. Barnard had a brilliant, if a wayward, pupil in Charles James Fox, who owed many of the defects in

[1] Hakewill's *History of Windsor*, p. 22.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 461.

[3] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. pp. 543—551.

his character to the evil influence of his father. William Pitt (the elder) once said that he considered Fox "the blackest man that ever lived. . . . He educated his children without the least regard to morality, and with such extravagant vulgar indulgence, that the great change which has taken place among our youth has been dated from the time of his son's going to Eton."[1] When Charles James Fox was only fifteen years of age, he was taken away from school for four months, and introduced to the dissipated society of Paris and Spa. He returned to Eton with the ideas and airs of a man of fashion, but he was laughed at by the boys, and soundly flogged by the Head-Master.[2] After this he became more careful about his work, and attained such proficiency in Latin versification as to be "sent up."[3] His great talents were appreciated at this early period, not only by Dr. Barnard,[4] but by the young Earl of Carlisle, who addressed him in the following manner, in some lines on the probable future of several of his schoolfellows :—

"How will my Fox, alone, from strength of parts
Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts
Of fearful statesmen, while around you stand
Both Peers and Commons list'ning your command:
While Tully's sense its weight to you affords,
His nervous sweetness shall adorn your words;
What praise to Pitt, to Townshend e'er was due,
In future times, my Fox, shall wait on you."[5]

[1] Lord E. Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Shelburne*, vol. i. p. 78.

[2] Lord Russell's *Memorials of C. J. Fox*, vol. i. pp. 11—12.

[3] See the *Musæ Etonenses*.

[4] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*.

[5] *Foundling Hospital for Wit* (1784), vol. i. p. 7. Several circumstances combine to show that these verses were written while the author and his friends were at Eton. Lord Offaly died prematurely in 1765, and the political allusion to the rivalry between Bute and Temple would have been meaningless after that year.

The other young Etonians noticed in this poem, were St. John, Lord Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Buccleugh, Legge, the Earl of Offaly, Lord Stavordale, and Anthony Morris Storer, but we miss in it the name of James Hare, one of the most popular members of that *coterie*, and the author of several clever compositions in the *Musæ Etonenses*. When Fox was congratulated on his maiden speech in the House of Commons, he said "Wait till you hear Hare;"[1] but the subject of this compliment had little political ambition, and was satisfied with being the "Hare with many friends." A few days after his death, in March 1804, there appeared in one of the London newspapers, an amusing biographical notice signed *Leporis Amator*, from which we may extract the following:—

"Mr. H—— is sent, in 1764,[2] to Eton, by his uncle, and admitted a colleger,—is soon distinguished as a boy of considerable parts, and taken great notice of by Lord Carlisle, Mr. Fox, the Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Ilchester, Lord Ophaly, Lord Fitzwilliam, and all the noblemen who admired quick parts, easy manners, and ready wit. These honours gave him an air of consequence superior to the pretensions of a Colleger, and attracted the envy of the Master, who was resolved to cut him short in his career, and for that purpose dock'd his long hair with his own hand; telling him on his showing signs of indignation, that he might think himself well off that the operation was not performed according to the statutes by a bowl-dish. He resented this, and prepared no *Bacchus* at Christmas, but wrote a beautiful poem on the subject of Cain and Abel, which was admired by the Cooks, and all the ladies

Lord Carlisle's verses and the answer to them by Bertie Greathead, are mentioned in the MS. called *Nugæ Etonenses*, as almost contemporaneous with Dr. Barnard's farewell speech.

[1] *Annual Register*, vol. xlvi. p. 473.

[2] This date is obviously wrong, as Hare's name appears in a *Bill of Eton School* of 1762, and he was elected to King's in 1765.

of the Fellows; he was obliged, however, to write a Latin *Bacchus* at a night's notice.—goes to the ball at Windsor, and dances with Mrs. Lyne,[1] and his friend Mr. F——[2] with Dr. Biddle's niece.[3] This is considered as an unparallelled outrage, and noticed accordingly but differently, by a threat of expulsion to the one, and a hope to the other that he was not going to be irregular."[4]

Dr. Barnard's free use of the scissors as well as of the birch is noticed by Christopher Anstey in his account of "Master Marmozet Danglecub"—

> "Mrs. Danglecub's not such a fool
> To send a poor thing with a spirit so meek,
> To be flogg'd by a tyrant for Latin and Greek.
> For why should a child of distinction and fashion
> Lay a heap of such silly nonsensical trash in?
> She wonders that parents to Eton should send
> Five hundred great boobies their manners to mend,
> When the master that's left it (though no one objects
> To his care of the boys in all other respects)
> Was extremely remiss, for a sensible man,
> In never contriving some elegant plan
> For improving their persons, and showing them how
> To hold up their heads, and to make a good bow,
> When they've got such a charming long room for a ball,
> Where the scholars might practise, and masters and all;[5]
> But, what is much more, what no parent would chuse—
> He burnt all their ruffles and cut off their queues."[6]

Dr. Dampier seems to have maintained the reputation of the Lower School fairly well, though from all accounts he must have been rather weak and indulgent. A boy under him, fonder of cricket than of Latin and Greek, boasted that he was sure of getting his remove

[1] Probably a relation of Richard Lyne, one of the Fellows.

[2] Fox.

[3] Miss Cook.

[4] *St. James's Chronicle*, March 29, 1804.

[5] There was a regular dancing-master at Eton at this date in the person of a certain Mr. Hickford mentioned in the MS. called *Nugæ Etonenses*.

[6] Anstey's *New Bath Guide*.

—"Dampier loves a good glass of wine, I'll write to my father to send him a hamper of claret, and mark, if I do not soon *swim* into the Upper School."[1] One of the Brudenells climbed up one of the pillars in the Lower School, and from this lofty perch, set the Usher at defiance for half-an-hour, until at last he was pulled down by the præpostors and "birch-desk keeper."[2] There is a less credible story of a boy named Frank North having a fair set-to with Dr. Dampier in Windsor Castle, and rolling him down the Hundred Steps.[3]

When Dr. Barnard was elected to succeed Dr. Sleech in the Provostship, John Foster, one of the Assistants, was appointed Head-Master.[4] He had many qualifications for the post, and great things were expected of him. He is said to have been the "boast of Eton during his education there," and, as a man, he was not less respected for the uprightness of his character, than noted for the soundness of his scholarship. A writer of his own time says—

"He was a lover of that virtue which he taught and practised; and whatever in ancient or modern history was calculated to cherish a spirit of social duty, and a sense of unbending rectitude, he never failed to impress on the minds of his scholars, and to suggest as the subject of their exercises. Indeed his zeal in these great points of education could not be excelled. . . . . His memory was great, and, joined to a clear and firm intellect, prevented any embarassment in his ideas from the great extent of his reading. He was a strict disciplinarian, severe against all immoral conduct, inexorable when he discovered meditated deception, and [he] considered the deviation

[1] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. i. pp. 111—112.

[2] MS. called *Nugæ Etonenses*, in the possession of the Rev. J. C. B. Riddell.

[3] *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 91.

[4] *Eton Register*, vol. iv. f. 201, December 16, 1765.

from truth to be an act of baseness which it would be equally wrong to pass without correction, as to commit."[1]

Under some circumstances, such a man might have become a most successful educator of youth, but it was Dr. Foster's misfortune to succeed a Master who had been almost idolised by those under him. The contrast between Barnard and Foster was most marked, and persons more discriminating than mere schoolboys might well be pardoned for preferring the brilliant genius of the former to the quiet virtues of the latter. In all points of classical scholarship Foster was infinitely superior to his predecessor, but he had not the same acquaintance with the literature of his own age and country. Barnard loved to spend his leisure time in genial society, while Foster was poring over the elaborate dissertations of some dry commentator. One was satisfied with grasping the ideas and characteristics of ancient writers, whereas the other insisted on ascertaining the exact force of every word employed, and was the author of a learned treatise on Greek accents. Barnard was ever causing merriment by his ready wit; Foster by his blunders, as for instance, when he mistook a black sow under the wall of the Long Walk for a small boy shirking, and called out "Come here you Colleger!"[2] Even in outward appearance there was a great difference between the two men, for Barnard was tall and dignified, while Foster was small and insignificant. It would have been well for the School if the contrast had stopped here: but it soon became evident that the new Master was deficient in that kind of tact for which his predecessor had been so distinguished.

[1] Lipscomb's *History of Bucks*, vol. iv. pp. 496, 497.

[2] MS. called *Nugæ Etonenses*.

The most serious rebellion that is ever known to have occurred at Eton, was brought about, in a great measure, by his want of discretion. It originated in a controversy on the subject of "bounds," between the Assistant-Masters and the Sixth Form Præpostors.[1] These latter exercised monitorial authority over their schoolfellows, and, as in later times, had power to punish any lower boys whom they met outside the precincts of the College. This naturally implied an exemption for themselves from observing the ordinary limits, though as a matter of form they used to "shirk" the Assistant-Masters. In the autumn of 1768, however, the Masters claimed the right of sending sixth form boys back to College, a claim which was strenuously resisted. All Dr. Foster's attempts at pacification proved vain, and affairs were brought to a crisis by a casual *rencontre* between one of the Masters and a Præpostor in the main street of Eton, one Saturday afternoon. No words passed at the time, but when the Præpostor was performing his ordinary duty of keeping the lower boys quiet in Church, on the following afternoon, he received a message to the effect that the Master intended to complain of him for making a noise. Feeling deeply aggrieved, he determined to ascertain whether the accusation was due to misapprehension, or to a mean spirit of revenge, and therefore lost no time, when service was over, in asking for an explanation of the message. The Master vouchsafed no reply, but collared him, and dragged him perforce to Dr. Foster, who was about to administer punishment, when the Sixth Form Præpostors entered the room in a body, threatening to resign their duties, if their privileges

[1] They were the first seven dans in the School. Collegers, and the first ten Oppi-

were to be thus infringed. This bold device proved unsuccessful, for their resignation was accepted, and their comrade was severely flogged.

On the following day the ex-Præpostors had an interview with the Head-Master, at which they claimed that the Assistants should have no right to send them back to College, unless they found them in taverns, billiard rooms, or other improper places, in which event they were willing to be sent back, and even to be flogged. Dr. Foster refused to entertain the proposition, whereupon the boys vowed that they would not take part in the ensuing Declamations, for declaiming belonged to them as Præpostors and not as members of the sixth form. Dr. Foster retorted that they must either declaim at the proper time, or leave the School; and when a deputation of fifth form Oppidans came to enquire whether the sixth form boys had been expelled, he answered curtly—"Go and ask them." After this a council of war was held in the Playing Fields, and all the members of the sixth form, many of the fifth, and some even of the fourth—a hundred and sixty in all—resolved to start at once for Maidenhead. The author of an apology for the boys,[1] boasts of their good conduct:—

". . . They marched with the greatest order and regularity, and . . . during the whole time they were absent from Eton, there was not one single act of riot, indecency, or intemperance, committed. . . . . The Master behaved with the warmth of

[1] The pamphlet was printed anonymously, but the copy in the Bodleian Library bears the name of Jeremiah Milles as the author. This Jeremiah Milles was the eldest son of the Dean of Exeter, an Etonian, and he afterwards became a Fellow of Merton College. He took his B.A. degree in 1772, so that it is quite possible that he may have been at Eton in 1768. . . . Angelo (*Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 116) says that the chief ringleader was named Webster.

youth; the boys with the prudence of a more advanced age. The boys desired either to be convinced, or to convince the Master by reason; the Master refused both. The boys behaved with a resolute constancy; the Master with an injudicious obstinacy, and wavering timidity."

On the other hand, tradition says, that all the rebels threw their school-books into the Thames[1]—a sadly childish proceeding on the part of such would-be heroes. Be this as it may, we find that they spent the night at Marsh's inn,[2] despite the remonstrances of a friendly Master who rode over to advise them to return at once. On the following morning they marched back to the Playing Fields, and eighteen of them had a conference with the Masters in the Upper School; they offered to capitulate on condition that all should be treated alike, but Dr. Foster declared that he would make no conditions. This announcement caused a regular panic, and *Sauve qui peut* became the order of the day. The writer whom we have already quoted, records with indignation that three of the ringleaders, "to their eternal infamy made peace at the expense of their own honour."[3] Many of their comrades followed this example, while others more deeply implicated, or more timid, hastened away to their own homes—only to encounter the reproaches of their indignant parents.

[1] *The English Spy*, vol. i. p. 92. *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lxvi. p. 95.

[2] An original MS. in the possession of the Rev. J. C. B. Riddell is endorsed:—"*Bill at Maidenhead Bridge for the entertainment of the boys concerned in the Eton Rebellion, 2nd Nov.* 1768." The items are—

"Beer for dinner	1	2	6
Wine & punch, etc.	6	18	6
Dinners, coffee, tea, etc., supper and breakfast for 160 at 5*s.* a head	40	0	0
Beer at supper	0	18	6
Wine and punch, etc.	5	14	9
Fires	1	0	0
Cards	0	4	0
	55	18	3

"November ye 2nd and 3rd, 1768."

[3] Jeremiah Milles.

William Grenville, afterwards Prime Minister, was sent back to Eton for a few hours—probably to be flogged—and was then taken away from the School.[1] Lord Harrington's son swore a solemn oath that he would not submit, and went up to London; but his father would only speak to him through the door, insisting on his immediate return to Eton. "Sir," said the son, "consider, I shall be d——d if I do." "And I," answered the father, "will be d——d if you don't." "Yes, my lord," retorted this dutiful son, "but you will be d——d whether I do or not."[2] The two sons of the Marquis of Granby met with a warmer reception, and were asked whether they would like to go to the theatre that evening. The offer seemed too good to be true, but they accepted it with alacrity. "Yes," said the bluff general, who had himself experienced the discipline of Eton, "you shall go there to-night for your own pleasure, and to-morrow you shall return to Dr. Foster and be flogged for mine."[3]

Traditions of a great battle between the Eton boys and the butchers at Windsor, some six or seven years before the rebellion of 1768, were current in the School in the early part of the present century, but have passed away with a by-gone generation. Henry Angelo, the celebrated fencing-master, mentions that many of the boys only got back to College by dressing themselves up like women, as the foe had secured Windsor Bridge, and so cut off their retreat.[4]

The same writer has preserved a fuller account of a remarkable incident which took place during his school days, and of which he was an eye-witness. He and

[1] *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lxvi. p. 95.
[2] *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 92.
[3] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. i. pp. 116—117.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 298.

other fags were engaged in preparing their masters' tea one Sunday evening after Church, when a messenger came to summon them all to the Upper School. They found Dr. Foster and his Assistants awaiting them there, and, as the boys came pouring in from the different houses, intense curiosity prevailed as to what was about to happen. When all were assembled, the block was brought in from the "Library," and an imperative voice shouted "Burke!" A burly Irish boy of eighteen came forward and knelt down to be flogged, amid solemn silence. When the Doctor had administered three cuts, he bade him stand up again, and said—"Now, I expel you the School." The boys were more perplexed than ever, but they subsequently ascertained that Burke had been lampooning the Head-Master in the London newspapers, and that he would not have submitted quietly to a flogging if he had known that it would be followed by expulsion. Angelo says "such a disgraceful exposure was never before exhibited in the middle of the School."[1]

We may easily believe that stringent measures of this kind were sometimes necessary for the maintenance of discipline, but it seems clear that Dr. Foster used to carry his severity beyond the limits of prudence. Being unable to control the boys by his personal influence, he had recourse to a system of terrorism, which soon rendered him extremely unpopular. The fact that he was the son of a Windsor tradesman was, in itself, enough to raise a prejudice against him in the minds of his aristocratic pupils, who took no pains to hide the contempt they entertained for his person and authority.[2] One consequence of this unhappy state

[1] *Angelo's Reminiscences*, vol. ii. pp. 376—377.

[2] Lipscomb's *History of Bucks*, vol. iv. pp. 496—497.

of affairs was, that the number of boys in the School declined even more rapidly than it had risen under Dr. Barnard's management. In eight years the total fell from 522 to 230, and Dr. Foster, broken down in health and spirits, resigned his place in 1773, at the age of forty-one.[1] Dr. Jonathan Davies succeeded him as Head-Master, and ruled the School for eighteen years with moderate success. Little is recorded about the events of his time, except that there was a rebellion in which he was said to have behaved badly towards the Assistants. A party of boys carried off the flogging-block, and wreaked their vengeance on it, with red-hot pokers, splitting it up into small pieces which their schoolfellows were glad enough to buy from them. The young Marquis of Huntley took his fragment home with him to Gordon Castle, as a trophy.[2]

The election of 1778 was remarkable for the number of distinguished visitors who came to Eton to hear the speeches on the Monday. The royal children arrived about noon in three carriages, preceded by twelve running footmen. The King and Queen followed "in their own post-chariot" and drove into the School Yard, where they were received by two of the Fellows, and the Head-Master and Usher, the Provost being laid up with an attack of the gout. Several noblemen and prelates were assembled in the Upper School, and no time was lost in proceeding to the business of the day. Lord Wellesley, one of the senior Oppidans, enjoyed the exceptional honour of making two recitations, the latter of which, Lord Strafford's last speech, he delivered with such pathos as to draw tears from the

[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 342.

[2] *Autobiography of Mrs. Delany*, vol. vi. pp. 171—172.

whole audience.[1] The Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburg, we are told, "took most affectionate notice of all the speakers, shaking hands with them several times." The royal party proceeded from the Upper School to the Church, and thence to the Long Chamber, where every scholar stood by his own bedside. They afterwards went to the Lodge, to see Dr. Barnard in his bedroom, and the King on taking leave said that this should not be his last visit to the College.[2] A holiday was observed in several succeeding years in commemoration of the day, though not on the actual anniversary.[3] After the speeches, the Archbishop of Canterbury took Lord Wellesley with him to spend part of the summer vacation at Lambeth, and on their way they called on David Garrick at Hampton. "Your lordship," said the great tragedian to Lord Wellesley, "has done what I could never accomplish —made the King weep." "That," replied the hero of the morning with equal courtesy, "is because you never spoke before him in the character of a fallen favourite."[4] Lord Wellesley's younger brother, Arthur, thrashed "Bobus" Smith in a fight, but did little else to attract the attention of his schoolfellows. Many years later, when he was Duke of Wellington, he called on Mrs. Ragenau the dame, and asked to be allowed to see her kitchen door, on which he had as a boy inscribed the name of Wellesley.[5]

There was once a debating society at Eton, in which the members assumed the titles and parts of the min-

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xlviii. p. 385.

[2] *Additional MS.* 5868, f. 39, b. quoting *Cambridge Chronicle* of August 1, 1778.

[3] *MS. Diary of Dr. Davies*, in the possession of the Provost.

[4] Jesse's *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.*, vol. iii. p. 16.

[5] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii. pp. 106—107.

isters of state and their principal opponents; and it was in this mock Parliament that Lord Wellesley and Henry Grey made their first political speeches.[1] The former excelled all his contemporaries at school in writing Latin verses, an art which he continued to practise in his old age;[2] and Dr. Goodall described him, before a Committee of the House of Commons, as a much better classic scholar, in all respects, than Richard Porson, who was more remarkable at Eton for the power of his memory than for the correctness of his compositions. According to a well-known story, Porson, being called up in a Horace lesson when he had mislaid his book, borrowed an Ovid from a neighbour, and with this in his hand construed the Horace without a mistake. He was by no means an enthusiastic Etonian, and in after life, he used to look back to the rat hunts in Long Chamber with greater pleasure than to any other incidents of his schooldays. He preferred English to Latin composition, and it was in the former language that he addressed some anonymous lines to Charles Simeon, apostrophizing him as "the ugliest boy in Dr. Davies's dominions." He also wrote two dramatic pieces for representation in Long Chamber, one of which, entitled "Out of the frying-pan into the fire" has been preserved in manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge. The actors were Stephenson, Chafie, Goodall, Moore, and Porson himself.[3]

Oppidans also had a taste for theatricals, but were not so ambitious as to attempt original pieces. When Dr. Barnard was Head-Master, arrangements were made for a performance of Addison's "Cato" at

[1] *Public Characters*, A.D. 1803—1804, p. 426.

[2] See his *Primitiæ et Reliquiæ*.

[3] Watson's *Life of Porson*, pp. 18—26.

one of the boarding-houses, and numerous invitations were issued. A disreputable old wig was procured for the occasion, and was done up by the barber on condition that he should be allowed to see it on Cato's head. The first few scenes were greatly applauded, and George Hardinge, the hero, was holding forth in his best manner, when the door opened, and revealed the well-known form of the Head-Master. Everybody fled, except the patriot Cato, who had to submit to the indignity of being stripped of his wig and gown. Dr. Barnard was vastly amused by the incident, and kept the wig in his room as a trophy; until one day the Vice-Provost, Dr. Burton, recognized it as a discarded one of his own, and carried it off for future use, declaring that the barber had made it as good as new.

Perhaps Dr. Barnard would not have cared to stop the performance if he had been invited, for he was a great admirer of the drama. George Hardinge says:—

"If nature had given him Garrick's features and figure, he would have been scarce inferior to him in theatrical powers. He was an admirable mimic, but he was never, like that wonderful man, an actor off the stage. . . . . His forte was a picturesque anatomy of character. . . . . Mr. Bryant once told me that he was present at a wonderful illustration of his powers in satire. He was in company with an overbearing and impudent savage, who, conceiving effrontery to be a match for genius, was often rudely offensive to him. Barnard in high good humour took an opportunity of describing the man by another name, and, lest the portrait should be too marked, he gave the hero of *his* portrait a nose that was aquiline. The curious brute was observed by the rest in the act of tracing his features, to discover if the nose corresponded."[1]

As Provost, Dr. Barnard indulged his wit too freely, sometimes allowing it to degenerate into buffoonery.

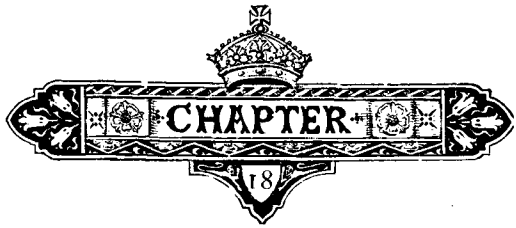
[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. pp. 543—551.

He loved to associate with men of genius akin to his own, and Foote, the great comedian, was often his guest, rendering valuable assistance whenever there were private theatricals at the Lodge, entertainments in which some of the scholars generally took part.[1] Foote, having been conducted round the College by a party of boys, asked his young cicerones what he could do for them in return. "Tell us, Mr. Foote," said the leader, "the best thing you ever said." "Why," replied he, "I saw a little blackguard imp of a chimney-sweeper, mounted on a noble steed, prancing and curvetting in all the pride and magnificence of nature. 'There,' said I, 'goes Warburton on Shakespeare.'"[2]

[1] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 416.

[2] Forster's *Essay on Foote.*

View from Barne's Pool Bridge.



1781–1809.

William Hayward Roberts—Jonathan Davies—John Langford—Anecdotes of George III.—The "Microcosm"—George Canning—The "Miniature"—Cricket—Boating—George Heath and Joseph Goodall—Benefactions—Condition of the Collegers.

NOTICES of Eton, and of the principal members of the College, at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, are scantier than one would naturally expect. Thus we have little to record about William Hayward Roberts, who was elected Provost in 1781, at the comparatively early age of forty-eight, beyond the fact that he had been a Fellow for several years, and before that an Assistant-Master. He was the author of a long poem, entitled "Judah Restored," and of a work on the errors in the English version of the Old Testament.[1] Miss Burney describes him as "very fat, with a large paunch, and gouty legs . . . . good-humoured, loquacious, gay, civil and parading."[2] His corpulence earned for him

[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ix. p. 187.

[2] *Madame d'Arblay's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 226.

the nickname of "Double Gloucester," in allusion to the thick cheeses of his native county.[1] He held the Provostship for exactly ten years, and he was succeeded in it by Jonathan Davies, the Head-Master, a man of humble extraction. Dr. Davies is best remembered as the founder of two scholarships for superannuated Collegers, and one for a poor Scholar of King's, each worth 42*l.* a year, and of prizes for Holiday Task and Declamations at Eton. He was a noted *bon-vivant*, and a friend of the Prince of Wales, at whose table, nevertheless, he is said to have received a well-merited rebuke one evening. The talk after dinner ran upon the classics, and the Prince expressed an opinion about Homer. Dr. Davies, who was more than half drunk, interposed rudely, "What do *you* know about Homer? I'd bet you don't know a line of the Iliad." "I'll take your bet," answered the Prince, and forthwith quoted a line in the First Book, beginning Οἰνοβαρές ("thou wine bibber").[2] Dr. Davies figures, with two other Kingsmen, in the elaborate satire of Mathias, who, in describing an event as distant and improbable, writes:—

> "Sooner Stentorian Davies cease to talk;
> And for *his* Eton quit his Bond Street walk;
> Sumner drink deep of the Castalian spring;
> Or Langford leave off preaching to the King."

In the footnotes Dr. Davies is described as:—"a learned, pleasant, generous, open-hearted man, but in conversation too much of a Stentor. . . . Mr. Provost has an invincible partiality for the charms of London, whenever *his duty* does not oblige him to be at his Lodge."

[1] *Cole's MS.* vol. xxx. f. 53, *b.*

[2] This story is also told of Provost Barnard, but with less probability.

The Sumner mentioned was Humphrey Sumner, Provost of King's; and Langford was Lower Master (or Usher) at Eton, Canon of Windsor, and Chaplain to George III. In this last capacity he used diligently to follow the King to Weymouth. "The

The Under Master at Eton, A.D. 1793.[1]

doctor seems unwilling to trust the royal theology to the country curates, even for a few weeks, during his Majesty's absence from the heavenly country at Windsor."[2] According to tradition, Dr.

[1] From an original drawing by S. H. Grimm, in the British Museum.

[2] Mathias's *Pursuits of Literature*, Dialogue iv.

Langford, when in residence at the Castle, used to administer floggings there, instead of in the Lower School. Complaints were allowed to accumulate until it suited him to attend to them, and the culprits were then made to march up to his house in a body.

George III. was ever partial to Eton. When there was an idea of the young De Quincey being sent to school there, the King said to him emphatically—"All people think highly of Eton; everybody praises Eton. Your mother does right to inquire; there can be no harm in that; but the more she inquires, the more she will be satisfied—that I can answer for."[1] George III. knew many of the boys personally, and he would chat with them in the street, often ending with "Shall I get you a holiday?" When he noticed a face which was not familiar to him, he would stop and ask "What's your name?" "Who's your tutor?" "Who's your dame?" and on receiving the answers, he would generally remark, "*Very* good tutor, *very* good dame." He watched the careers of the most promising scholars with interest, and on one occasion reminded an eminent statesman of a prize he had obtained at Eton.[2] Mr. John Barnard, of King's, remembers going to the Terrace at Windsor with his father and brothers, more than seventy years ago.[3] The King came up to them, and, after a few kind words of greeting to the father, pointed to the lad and asked, "Who is this?" "My son, Sir, whom I have lately placed at Eton." "What!" said the King affecting severity, "Lower

[1] De Quincey's *Autobiographic Sketches*, p. 166.

[2] *Annual Register*, vol. lxii. p. 708.

[3] The boys used to go up to the Terrace of a Sunday afternoon, in full dress, and if there were any holes in their black silk stockings, they used to remedy the defect by a judicious application of ink to their legs.

boy, do you know that you are out of bounds?" Then, turning round to the eldest brother, who was in the sixth form, he said, "Put him in the bill, Præpostor: he must be flogged." Another day a boy named More ran up against the King, in the street, and by stopping to apologize became late for "absence." The King took down his name, and kindly sent a note to Dr. Goodall, begging that the boy might not be punished.

Little incidents of this kind made George III. very popular with the boys, and when he appeared at Eton unexpectedly in May, 1804, after a partial recovery of his health, they greeted him with loud cheers, and followed the royal carriages up to the Castle to give a final hurrah. The knowledge that this hearty demonstration had been quite spontaneous gratified him exceedingly, and, on the following day, he declared that from thenceforth he would be "an Anti-Westminster."[1] A few months after this he went down to Eton in person, to invite about eighty of the boys to a ball given at Windsor for the amusement of the young princesses.[2] The late Vice-Provost, Mr. Carter, remembered a concert to which masters and boys were alike invited: the boys were kept to supper at the Castle, but the Masters were allowed to go home supperless. It has been stated on good authority[3] that the Collegers received the name of King's Scholars by express command of George III.; but even if this be true, the designation was not a new one, for it occurs

[1] *Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 146—147.

[2] Watkins's *Memoirs of Queen Charlotte*, p. 484.

[3] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 77. The account of Eton is believed to have been drawn up, or at least corrected, by Provost Goodall.

in a manuscript of the seventeenth century.[1] The continued observance of this King's birthday, the 4th of June, as a gala day at Eton is only due to the fact that his successor's birthday fell during the holidays.[2]

The King's frequent visits to Eton were not merely prompted by a liking for the boys. In announcing to the Bishop of Worcester his intention of being present on Election Monday in 1787, he wrote :—

"I wish from time to time to show a regard for the education of youth, on which most essentially depend my hopes of an advantageous change in the manners of the nation."[3]

Miss Burney accompanied the royal party on the occasion, and thus records what took place :—

"The speeches were chiefly in Greek and Latin, but concluded with three or four in English ; some were pronounced extremely well, especially those spoken by the chief composers of the *Microcosm*, Canning and Smith."[4]

The "Microcosm" was the first, and in some respects the most successful, of a long series of magazines conducted by Eton boys. It was started in the winter of 1786, by a committee of four—George Canning, John Smith, Robert Smith, better known as "Bobus" Smith, and John Hookham Frere—the editorial *nom-de-plume* being "Gregory Griffin of the College of Eton." Most of the numbers contain essays written in imitation of those in the "Spectator" and "Tatler," the proportion of verse to prose being small. Canning, as we might expect, did not confine himself to either branch of composition, and the poem which

[1] *Rawl. MS.* B. 274, f. 49, written A.D. 1621.
[2] *English Spy*, vol. i.
[3] *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. xxvi. pp. 335—336.
[4] *Madame d'Arblay's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 412.

he wrote on the slavery of Greece, has been cited to prove the early date at which he interested himself in the political state of a country whose liberation he afterwards helped to accomplish. The "Microcosm" had a large circulation beyond the limits of the School, and Miss Burney sent portions of it to the Queen.[1] After the publication of the last number at Electiontide, 1787, the copyright was sold for fifty guineas to Charles Knight, the Windsor bookseller,[2] and several collected editions were issued, one as late as 1825.

The reputation which Canning won as a schoolboy was without precedent. Fox came down to Eton on purpose to see him, but failed to secure him as a proselyte to the Whig party.

It is interesting to contrast the opinions on the subject of education entertained by two of the greatest Etonian statesmen. Lord Chatham told Lord Shelburne :—

"That he scarce observed a boy who was not cowed for life at Eton ; that a public school might suit a boy of turbulent forward disposition, but would not do where there was any gentleness."[3]

On the other hand, Canning said :—

"Foreigners often ask, by what means an uninterrupted succession of men, qualified more or less eminently for the performance of parliamentary and official duties, is secured. First, I answer (with the prejudices, perhaps, of Eton and Oxford), that we owe it to our system of public schools and universities. From these institutions is derived (in the lan-

[1] *Madame d'Arblay's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 236.

[2] *Annual Register*, vol. lxix. p. 480.

[3] Lord E. Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Shelburne*, vol. i. p. 72. The same opinion is expressed in Cowper's *Tirocinium*—

"The rude will scuffle through with ease enough,
Great schools suit best the sturdy and the rough."

guage of the prayer of our Collegiate Churches) 'a due supply of men fitted to serve their country in Church and State.' It is in her public schools and universities that the youth of England are, by a discipline which shallow judgments have sometimes attempted to undervalue, prepared for the duties of public life. There are rare and splendid exceptions, to be sure; but in my conscience I believe that England would not be what she is, without her system of public education; and that no other country can become what England is, without the advantages of such a system."[1]

Canning often revisited his old school; and at one of the Eton dinners in London declared, amid enthusiastic applause, that "whatever might be the success in after life, whatever gratification of ambition might be realised, whatever triumphs might be achieved, no one is ever again so great a man as when he was a sixth form boy at Eton."[2]

The success of the "Microcosm" did not tempt any Eton boys to try their powers as authors until 1804, when a new magazine, called the "Miniature," was set on foot, under the nominal management of a certain "Solomon Grildrig." The two publications resemble one another in scope and style, as well as in name. No list of contributors was ever published, but it is known that Stratford Canning (now Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) was the working editor, and that he was assisted by Thomas Rennell, H. Gally Knight, and the two sons of the Marquess Wellesley. Thirty-four numbers of the "Miniature" were issued in the course of a twelvemonth, and were afterwards re-published as an octavo volume. The sale of the book was small, and the editors were beginning to feel uncomfortable

[1] Quoted in the notes to Lord Byron's *Don Juan*, canto 1, stanza 52.

[2] *Etoniana*, p. 170.

about their pecuniary obligations to Charles Knight, when a little bookseller in Fleet Street, named John Murray, offered to help them out of their difficulties. He bought up and destroyed all the unsold copies, and at his own risk brought out a new edition in two small volumes, which, though commercially a failure, had the effect of bringing him into immediate contact with George Canning, the cousin of the principal editor. Under the patronage of the great Tory leader, he widened his connection, started the "Quarterly Review," and became the founder of the famous publishing business now carried on in Albemarle Street.[1]

Turning to lighter forms of amusement, we find that the reputation of Eton for cricket stood very high at the close of the last century, and that an eleven of old Etonians could hold its own against almost any foe. The boys, too, were generally victorious in their matches against the Oldfield Club.[2] On the other hand, they were beaten by the Westminster eleven in the first match known to have been played between any two public Schools. The place selected was Hounslow Heath, and the day the 25th of July, 1796. Almost all the Oppidans went to watch the progress of the game; and those who stayed at Eton agreed to "shirk absence," so that when the Head-Master had called over the names of the Collegers, he asked in surprise, "Polehampton, where are the Oppidans?"[3] The defeat sustained on Hounslow Heath was more than avenged on the old Lord's Ground four years later, when the Eton eleven scored 213 runs in one innings, against 54 and 31. Thomas Lloyd, who con-

[1] Knight's *Passages of a Working Life*, vol. i. pp. 65—66.

[2] Lillywhite's *Cricket Scores*, vol. i. pp. 155, 223.

[3] The Rev. J. F. Plumptre, who died Fellow of Eton a few years ago, used to relate this story.

tributed no less than 81 runs, thus almost beating Westminster off his own bat, caught a cold on the occasion, and died shortly afterwards. In the following year the Eton bowlers disposed of their opponents for 34 and 17 runs; no member of the defeated eleven scoring more than 8.[1] The result was so discouraging to the Westminster boys that no match has been played between these two schools from that time to the present. The Harrovians fared little better in their first match against Eton, played on old Lord's Ground in 1805, being beaten in one innings. Lord Byron was one of the Harrow eleven, and Stratford Canning one of the Eton eleven.[2]

It is difficult to learn much about the boats of seventy or eighty years ago, their very names being almost forgotten; but from the "Annual Register," we gather some particulars of a disturbance which arose in the month of June, 1798, in connection with a water-party on the Thames. Dr. Heath, having heard that many of the fifth form, and some of the lower boys, intended to row up to Maidenhead, thereby necessarily shirking six o'clock absence, attempted to dissuade them from carrying out their project. Equally regardless of his remonstrances and his threats, they set out on the expedition, and were soundly flogged on their return; but this punishment did not suffice to quell the spirit of insubordination, for one of the same boys was guilty of another act of disobedience in the following week, and was expelled in consequence.[3]

Fancy dresses used to be worn on the 4th of June, and on Election Saturday, each boat having a dis-

[1] Lillywhite's *Cricket Scores, Matches.* vol. i. p. 291.

[2] Lillywhite's *Public School* 50.

[3] *Annual Register*, vol. xl. p.

tinctive uniform, though not always the same one from year to year. The crew of the "Monarch," then, as now, the first boat and a ten-oar, attracted a good deal of notice on one occasion, by appearing as galley-slaves fastened to their oars with gilded chains. It was about the same period that the crews of the "Defiance" and the "Dreadnought" got so excited over a disputed bump, that they arranged to adjourn to dry land and settle the question with their fists.[1]

There is an epitaph in the Chapel to young Lord Waldegrave, who was drowned in 1794; and several of his schoolfellows met with a similar death at different times. The Collegers used to bathe near the Oak Tree in the Playing Fields,[2] while the Oppidans used to frequent the upper part of the river, sometimes taking headers off the low wooden bridge which then connected Eton with Windsor.[3] In one of the compositions in the *Musæ Etonenses*, a nurse is represented as warning her fondling of the perils that await him at school :—

> "*In fragili cymba tua membra ignara natandi*
> *O noli Thamesis credere cautus aquis;*
> *Neu, si te parvus gessit per rura caballus,*
> *Et per nostra humiles prata tulere rotæ,*
> *Excelso in curru moderare infirmus habenas;*
> *Neu quid Etonensi crede caducus equo.*"[4]

This open allusion to driving and riding would suffice to show that those exercises were not unknown. Elsewhere we hear that Davis's tandem was frequently hired for a drive to Virginia Water, and that the more adventurous boys sometimes

[1] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [by H. C. Blake], p. 57.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 86.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 54.
[4] *Musæ Etonenses.* New Series, vol. i. p. 98.

got a run with the hounds.[1] Henry Matthews drove through Eton itself; and another boy, who had been expelled for refusing to submit to a flogging after being caught *in flagrante delicto*, caused Dr. Goodall great annoyance by driving up and down in front of the Upper School.

The double danger of being intercepted by a Master and by a gamekeeper added greatly to the excitement of predatory expeditions in Windsor Little Park. A boy named Coke had just shot a hare one day when the gamekeepers came up; he took to his heels, flung his prey over the wall by the waterside, and having clambered over, found to his dismay that the comrade whom he had left in the boat had taken alarm and rowed off. There was not a moment to be lost, so he at once plunged into the river with the hare in his mouth, and swam across to the Playing Fields in safety.[2] On another occasion when three boys were coursing with a greyhound in the Park, one of them, named Barnard, was captured by a keeper and locked up for the night. Dr. Goodall was greatly amused at hearing of the affair, and informed the boys of it in school the next morning with mock solemnity. "One of your comrades is now languishing in prison with the common malefactors, for a serious offence against the King himself—poaching in the royal demesnes. I do not know whether he has actually committed high treason, but I am sure you will join with me in a hope that he will escape with his life," etc. The culprit had really spent his time very pleasantly, having had an excellent supper and breakfast in the charming society of the keeper's pretty daughter. In

[1] *Reminiscences of an Etonian*, p. 63.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 83—85.

the end he got off scot-free, the King and the Head-Master each leaving it to the other to fix on a punishment.

Another boy, now a clergyman in Somersetshire, was caught shooting close to the Slough Road, by John Keate, the Lower Master, and complained of in due course. The forfeiture of the gun was the worst part of his punishment, for Dr. Goodall's floggings were, like the rest of his discipline, of the mildest character. The School, nevertheless, flourished under his management, and the number of boys was almost as great as when Dr. Barnard resigned.

The Fellows at this period were not the kind of men to leave a mark on their age, or even on their College. Several of them were often the laughing-stocks of the boys. John Norbury, in particular, known as "Skimmer Jack," used to cause a good deal of amusement by preaching the same sermons over and over again in the Chapel. One morning, on mounting the pulpit, he found on the cushion before him a list of his favourite texts, headed "Skimmer Jack, which is it to be?" Of another Fellow, who was elected at the early age of twenty-four, simply because he was son of the reigning Provost, it is related that when told that a chalybeate had been discovered in Fellows' Pond, he answered, "Take it to the kitchen with the rest of the fish."

In addition to the benefactions of Dr. Davies already mentioned in this chapter, we must here record Jacob Bryant's legacy of 1,000*l.* for the benefit of superannuated Collegers. The Eton Library received a great accession in 1799 by the legacy of Anthony Morris Storer's collection of choice books and fine prints; and the ante-Chapel was beautified by the

erection of a marble statue of Henry VI., by Bacon, costing about 700*l.*, the gift of Edward Betham, one of the Fellows. A legacy of 5,550*l.* from Lord Godolphin did little to amend the fare of the unfortunate Collegers, for only a part of the interest was annually expended in providing pudding on Sundays, the remainder being allowed to accumulate for the benefit of a future generation. The College brewhouse, which in former days had supplied beer to kings and nobles, bore an indifferent reputation at the end of the eighteenth century. In a parody on Gray's Ode, written "on a nearer prospect" of Eton in 1798,[1] a Colleger derides the quality of the beer :—

> "Pint after pint you drink in vain
> Still sober you may drink again,
> You can't get drunk in Hall."

The scanty food provided by the College had to be supplemented from other sources. Breakfasts were obtained at private rooms hired in the town; Lower boys were made to bring cans of beer from the "Christopher" at their own peril; and a bar in the window of Lower Chamber was loosened at night in order to admit provisions from without.[2] An Eton tradition of this period, since turned into verse, relates how for a few days the Collegers enjoyed the unwonted luxury of sucking-pig for supper :—

> "There lived a flayflint near; we stole his fruit,
> His hens, his eggs; but there was law for *us;*
> We paid in person. He had a sow, sir. She
> With meditative grunts of much content,
> Lay great with pig, wallowing in sun and mud.

[1] Transcribed in a MS. note-book in the possession of J. H. Patteson, Esq.

[2] *Reminiscences of an Etonian*, pp. 76—78.

By night we dragg'd her to the college tower
From her warm bed, and up the corkscrew stair
With haud and rope we haled the groaning sow,
And on the leads we kept her till she pigg'd.
Large range of prospect had the mother sow,
And but for daily loss of one she loved,
As one by one we took them—but for this—
As never sow was higher in the world—
Might have been happy: but what lot is pure?
We took them all, till she was left alone
Upon her tower, the Niobe of swine,
And so return'd unfarrow'd to her sty." [1]

[1] Tennyson's *Poems—Walking to the Mail.*

View from Fifteen Arch Bridge.

1809–1834.

Administration of Dr. Keate—State of Education at Eton—Frequency of Floggings — Theatricals — Magazines — Cricket — Boating — Other Sports — Practical Jokes—Dr. Goodall as Provost—Resignation of Dr. Keate.

WHEN the Provostship became vacant in 1809 by the death of Dr. Davies, George III. expressed himself so strongly in favour of its being given to Dr. Goodall, that the Prime Minister had to abandon a candidate whom he would have preferred, and transmit the name of the King's nominee to the Fellows.[1] Dr. Goodall was succeeded in the management of the School by John Keate, the Lower Master. A sixth form boy writing to his old schoolfellow John Patteson, from Eton, two days after Christmas, thus explains the position of affairs :—

"As I should think that you must by this time be safely landed in the wool-pits, take, my dear Patty, some account of the various changes and chances which have taken place here within the last four weeks. Of course the papers have shown

[1] *Windsor and Eton Journal*, March 28, 1840.

you how Goodall is appointed Provost, how he has kissed hands, how he has retained his Canonry, how—but all the other acts that he did, are they not written in the *Gazette* of December the 15th? This seems to give universal pleasure as to the advancement of the man, but as to the removal of the man from his archididascal functions, the joy comes with sorrow not unmixed. He bears his dignity well, and makes his bows a third lower on the occasion. The canvass for the place of the Under-Master was hot—Thackeray, Carter, Drury, and Yonge. The latter soon resigned; Drury was informed that he might break the disappointment to himself by degrees, and set off for Devonshire without injuring his chance. The contest then lay between Thackeray and Carter, the latter of whom was considered the College man. My brother [1] canvassed strongly for Thackeray, and his beautiful sister caught a cold in his service, and, about three days ago, their united efforts were successful. This will suit well with his weak state of health, for though the business is if possible more than that of an Assistant, yet it is lighter, and less head-work. His income will be less than it is at present, but that must be of little comparative consequence to him. Yonge is to come into the Upper School, being hand and glove with our supreme Keate. Thackeray sent an invitation to . . . William Heath to come into the Lower School. Such is the state of things here, and it is altogether so unpleasing a prospect that I am very impatient to free myself from all the bore of verses and lyrics." [2]

The new Head-Master found himself in a difficult position. The universal popularity of his predecessor was in itself sufficient to make him start at a disadvantage, by creating a prejudice against him, which his appearance and manner were not calculated to remove. Though not really less kind at heart than the indulgent Goodall, he chose to display a harsh dictatorial tone towards those under him, on the theory that a school

[1] One of the Assistant-Masters.

[2] Original letter in the possession of J. H. Patteson, Esq.

should be managed by intimidation rather than by encouragement. The boys chafed at his severe discipline, and more than once meditated open rebellion. Symptoms of ill-feeling showed themselves from the first, sometimes in the form of practical jokes. One morning a boy named Cornewall blocked up the keyhole of the door between the "Library" and the Upper School with a bullet, and Dr. Keate was consequently obliged to go round to the great entrance and walk up the whole length of the School, amid shouts of "Boo, Boo." On reaching the enclosed platform which forms the Head-Master's desk, he found one of the doors screwed up; with an angry growl he crossed over to the other, only to find it similarly closed against him. This would have baffled most men, but Dr. Keate's spirit was indomitable, and he surprised every one present by nimbly vaulting into his place. He never succeeded in discovering the offenders.[1]

In a letter to John Patteson, written in May, 1810, the writer, whom we have already quoted, asks :—

"What wind blew you to Eton? Is it possible you can have been hinting to Keate any secret desires which you may still cherish for the grinding trade? The door seems shut closer at present to new comers than at any former time, unless Keate throws up in disgust. I understand there is much chance of these rumblings and grumblings continuing, as the principal malcontents agreed to carry on the joke after their return. Keate will not bear being trifled with half so well as Goodall, and will deal his blows about with a heavy

[1] Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, vol. i. p. 46. Another account (in Capt. Gronow's *Recollections*, 4th series, pp. 53—56) goes on to say that at the end of the lesson Dr. Keate found himself stuck to his seat by a lump of cobbler's wax; but this seems apocryphal, as it was always the custom for the Head-Master to stand in desk.

hand, should they force him to extremities. . . . . I suppose you have been enjoying his dozen of wine in Old Court, for I hear he is Doctored."

Many of the boys took to lingering in the ante-Chapel before service, until the Masters came in, and rushing to their places in a disorderly manner.

"To stop this unseemly practice, Dr. Keate imposed an additional 'absence' on that part of the School which he considered to be most in fault. The consequence of this was, that the 110 or 120 boys affected by the novelty, instead of being their own masters from four to six on whole holidays, were obliged to attend and answer to their names at five; and thus to speak in the language of Eton, the 'after-four' was completely cut up. An 'absence' is a ceremony at which every boy is required to be present; as each name is called, the proprietor answers, 'Here, Sir!' and any stray, who cannot give a satisfactory excuse, receives a flagellation. On this particular occasion, the boys concerned, with a few exceptions, kept away; and in consequence, each received from the Head-Master six cuts with a birch rod."

The Assistant-Masters were present, and informed their pupils that further resistance would be punished by expulsion. The additional absence was taken off after the holidays.[1]

The Head-Master had to encounter opposition of a more serious character in November 1818, when he made an alteration in the hour at which the boarding-houses were to be locked up at night. The whole School was in a state of uproar for several days, and the expulsion of one of the most popular of the offenders only tended to aggravate matters. The news passed from mouth to mouth, and when Dr. Keate came into the Upper School, the whole building rang with shouts

[1] *The Song of Floggaway a* [by W. N. Lettsom], 1856, pp. iv.—v.

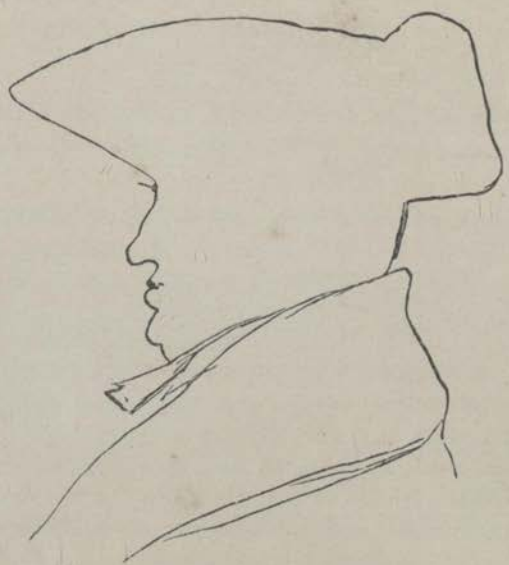
of "Where's M——?" Unable to make himself heard amid the prevailing din, Dr. Keate descended from his desk, and passed out into the adjoining room. His back was no sooner turned than a volley of rotten eggs was sent after him, but even the boldest of the rioters were careful not to take too good an aim, and he escaped untouched. He returned in a few minutes accompanied by several of the Assistant-Masters, and by stationing them at intervals down the School, with instructions to seize anyone who spoke, he succeeded in restoring order. The result of the rebellion was, that five boys were publicly expelled and two others privately sent away.[1]

Dr. Keate ruled the School with unrivalled vigour for a full quarter of a century, and he will never be forgotten by any who were brought into contact with him. Mr. Kinglake's brilliant sketch of his former master, written to a non-Etonian friend, is almost a *locus classicus*, but it can hardly be omitted.

"I think you must have some idea of him already, for wherever from utmost Canada to Bundelcund—wherever there was a white-washed wall of an officer's room, or of any other apartment in which English gentlemen are forced to kick their heels, there likely enough (in the days of his reign) the head of Keate would be seen, scratched or drawn with those various degrees of skill which one observes in the representation of Saints. Anybody without the least notion of drawing could still draw a speaking, nay scolding, likeness of Keate. If you had no pencil you could draw him well enough with a poker, or the leg of a chair, or the smoke of a candle. He was little more (if more at all) than five feet in height, and was not very great in girth, but in this space was concentrated the pluck of ten battalions. He had a really noble voice, and this he could modulate with great skill, but he also had the power

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1818., and *Etoniana*, p. 110.

of quacking like an angry duck, and he almost always adopted this mode of communication in order to inspire respect; he was a capital scholar, but his ingenuous learning had *not* softened his manners, and had permitted them to be fierce—tremendously fierce; he had the most complete command over his temper—I mean over his good temper—which he scarcely



Dr. Keate[1]

ever allowed to appear: you could not put him out of humour—that is, out of the *ill*-humour which he thought to be fitting for a head master. His red shaggy eyebrows were so prominent that he habitually used them as arms and hands, for the purpose of pointing out any object towards which he wished to direct attention; the rest of his features were equally striking in their way, and were all and all his own."[2]

Humorous descriptions of this kind, true enough as

[1] From an original sketch taken in Upper School by J. Calvert Jones.

[2] Kinglake's *Eothen*, ch. xviii.

far as they go, do not (and perhaps are not intended to) contain an exhaustive analysis of character. Dr. Keate was really a great master, though his views and system of education would not accord with modern ideas; and here and there we may even now find a *laudator temporis acti se puero*, declaring that there has been no real discipline at Eton since 1834. Keate's career at the University had been brilliant; his Latin verse was second to that of no contemporary; and he possessed in an eminent degree the power of imparting clearly to others the results of his own careful classical reading. The school-hours and the lessons done in them, while he was Head-Master, were almost identical with those of the previous century.[1] A correspondent intimately acquainted with Eton affairs contributes the following notes on the state of education under Dr. Keate:—

"There were three ancient authors well known to Etonians—Homer, Virgil, and Horace. If a boy was in the School for eight or ten years, as many Collegers were, he was sure to go through the Iliad once and a half, the Æneid twice; there was no certainty that he would know the Eclogues or Georgics at all; and of the Odyssey he must needs know, only too familiarly, a few hundred lines which were in the school-book called *Poetæ Græci*, a book then very meagre and insufficient, but many years afterwards expanded into a valuable, though by no means perfect, anthology of Greek verse. All Horace, except perhaps the Epodes, was read and repeated, subject to expurgation, but it may be doubted whether even superior boys knew the meaning of the Odes accurately. However, these three poets were on the whole as familiarly known as could be reasonably expected, and an Oppidan spending only three years at Eton, and being for half that time under Keate, was pretty sure to read thus much with relish and with advantage. But one who left school in 1818 and went straight to Oxford had never read a line of Thucydides. The wretched

[1] See Chapter XVI.

compilation called *Scriptores Græci* consisted of a lump of Lucian, with a veneer, gradually thickened, of scraps of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plato; so that literally not one first-rate Greek prose writer was really known to the student of 1818. Yet he found himself at Oriel as good a scholar as any man from any other school. Between 1818 and 1834, the *Scriptores Græci* may have been altered a little, and Hawtrey added to it from time to time. At one period it contained several solid insertions—the first book of the *Anabasis*, Plato's *Euthryphon*, and the *Menexenus* (which was probably accepted as a veracious sketch of Athenian history), but to the last, Herodotus and Thucydides were represented in a capricious and unsystematic set of selections, and as late as 1842 a reflective freshman at Cambridge was able to say with truth that he had been taught Greek in school at Eton, but had been left to get his knowledge of Attic Greek out of school. The young man who entered Oriel in 1818, fresh from the Upper Division, had paid for private tuition for three years, but the whole amount of what he had done with two clever tutors was this—with one he had read the *Alcestis* (a very short and easy play), to the other he had said by heart, on Sundays, the first Satire of Juvenal. We must complete the account of his Greek studies by adding that he had been in the habit of saying by heart, on Monday morning, to an Assistant Master, some fifteen verses of the Greek Testament, of course without interpretation or comment. This was probably meant for a religious lesson to be learnt on Sunday.

"Turning to Latin prose literature, in Keate's days and down to a very recent time it was represented by a book called *Scriptores Romani*, an odd but interesting compilation, bearing, up to the last edition, the impress of a mind which contemplated not merely elegant scholarship, but the training of young men for a Parliamentary career, for it contained a good deal of fine hard Latin about oratory and public virtue, and, though it was wofully inadequate as a thread of beads to illustrate Roman history, it betokened a lofty purpose corresponding to Lord Chatham's ideas, and it was a great relief to the intellect. Nor is it fair to forget that for sixth form boys the *Scriptores Romani* was handsomely supplemented by the

'Speech-book,' which contained many gems of eloquence; only it was a pity that the young reciters were not taught to construe what they learned by heart.

"Meagre as this bill of fare may appear, it would be a mistake to think that a clever or even an average boy suffered from scantiness of classical diet so much as he did indirectly from the limited range of knowledge and the indifference growing out of monotony, which inevitably lowered the tone of the ordinary teachers. It was a grievous thing that a man charged with the philological training of choice lads should be wholly unacquainted with such a writer as Aristophanes, or be obliged to leave out the choric verse in reading the *Agamemnon* with his pupils. Monotony is the inevitable burden to be borne by a schoolmaster, but personal character sometimes overcomes this sort of limitation; and we may readily believe that some of Keate's Assistants were better acquainted with ancient literature than they were bound to be; still, at the best they were probably ignorant men compared with College tutors. 'Private business' gave them occupation. In their own pupil-rooms with a limited class they would, for instance, read the *Medea* of Euripides, in lessons of thirty lines, given three times a week; or they would judiciously take the boys through the narrative in Thucydides of the siege of Platea; or they would refresh their own weary souls with a duly prepared edition of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. But it must be remembered that, being overwhelmed with the correction of verses and with dull routine labour wasted on themes in which neither man nor boy took any interest, they did not even in 'private business' set their pupils tasks which required the use of a pen. Written translations from Greek or Latin into English, or from English into Latin or Greek, were unknown at Eton, as were also questions on history or divinity.

"The Oriel man of whom mention has been made had missed the best part of Keate's teaching, by not being in the sixth form, for the sixth form had special lectures on Greek plays, and it is well ascertained that in his quiet class-room Keate used to give out his best knowledge, seasoned with perfect taste and free from all pedantry, to a respectful party of

eighteen lads who were too much behind the scenes to be afraid of him.[1] It may fairly be doubted whether there was any man who was doing better work than this in any English school, except Butler of Shrewsbury. Few are the traditions of Keate's critical tenets;[2] and when asked after his retirement to let others have the benefit of his written notes on the books he had expounded, he shrank from the suggestion with unique bashfulness; but it was honestly believed by his best pupils and assistants that they owed almost everything to his soundness of mind and rigorous accuracy, and it was well known that if an exercise came into school badly altered, he pointed out the mistakes in 'Chambers' to the terror of negligent tutors.[3] He may at least be said to have been the main, if not the sole, support of scholarship no less than of discipline, to have done all he could to make up for the deficiencies of his staff, and to have left a very strong mental impression on several lads who at Oxford, at Cambridge, and at St. Stephen's proved themselves first-rate men."

[1] The following anecdote tends to prove that he was a rational teacher. The present Bishop of Lichfield was translating Horace's account of the auctioneer at the barber's shop "*proprios purgantem leniter ungues*," "cleaning his own nails." Keate corrected him, "cleaning his nails. Go on." Again and again the lad said "his *own* nails." Keate scolded him, but he held out against the less emphatic "his," and argued the point. "If you please, Sir, Horace lays the stress on the word '*proprios*,' because most of the dandies made the barbers pare their nails; and when Philippus saw Mena paring his own nails '*vacua in umbra*' —though nobody was engaging the barber's time—he thought him a man of some energy, and likely to become a good farmer." Keate, in his truly generous spirit of appreciation, said, "Well there's something in that. Lay the stress, then, on *proprios*."

[2] It is remembered that he translated "*incolumi Jove*," and "*incolumi gravitate*," as "without regard for Jupiter," and "without regard for gravity."

[3] We may here explain, that according to a system peculiar to Eton, every Assistant-Master who takes a regular class in school had also under his charge a number of boys varying considerably in age, whom he instructed in their own respective work; or, to put the case conversely, that every boy had to encounter the double ordeal of being called up to construe a lesson before his tutor and before the Master in school. So, too, every copy of verses and every theme was looked over

The pages of Mr. Stapylton's "Eton School Lists" teem with the names of boys who obtained the highest honours of their respective universities, and Dr. Jelf's *dictum* that "if a boy of parts chooses to work at Eton, Eton will do him justice, and he will do Eton justice"[1] is true of almost any period in the present century. On the other hand, the amount of work absolutely enforced at Eton has generally been very small indeed. One great obstacle to efficient instruction on the part of the Head-Master was the unwieldy size of his class. In the middle of the eighteenth century, when the total number of boys in the School was about the same as at the date of Dr. Keate's accession, Dr. Barnard used to undertake the whole fifth form in addition to the sixth, but as the Upper School increased at the expense of the Lower School, it was found necessary to separate the fifth form into two divisions, of which the lower was transferred to an Assistant-Master. Nevertheless, Dr. Keate found himself the sole teacher in school of about 170 boys, and the

twice, first in the pupil-room, and then in school. The tutor made any corrections that seemed desirable, and the boy showed up a fair copy in school, together with the original manuscript. This system incidentally gave every Master frequent opportunities of gauging the scholarship of his colleagues. *Apropos* of this we may quote an amusing incident. A boy skilled in copying the handwriting of his tutor was in the habit of introducing eccentric alterations in the verses of his schoolfellows, as they lay on a table after being looked over. One day he found a hexameter ending "*nigrum detrusit ad Orcum*" (he thrust him down to the dark Hades), and he substituted the word "*conto*" for "*nigrum.*" The author of the verses copied out all the alterations in perfect good faith, but the word "*conto*" caught the eye of Dr. Keate when he was looking over the fair copy. "What do you mean by using such a word as *conto?*—'he thrust him down to Hades with a *punt-pole.*' How dare you write such rubbish?" "If you please, Sir, it was my tutor's correction," replied the boy with all the confidence of injured innocence.

[1] *Contemporary Review*, vol. iii.

numbers continued to increase. Mr. Edward Coleridge remembers being one of 198 boys in the Head-Master's division, and, as one might expect, he was only called up to construe twice in the course of a half.[1] Songs and even choruses used to be sung in school, but Dr. Keate was seldom able to ascertain whence the sounds proceeded. An attempt was made to remedy this state of things in 1820, by the formation of a "middle division" between the upper and lower divisions of the fifth form, but even after this change, more than 100 boys were still left under the immediate supervision of the Head-Master.

The Duke of Newcastle gave a great impetus to learning at Eton in 1829, by founding three Scholarships, each worth 50*l.* a year and tenable for three years. One Newcastle Scholar is elected annually after a competitive examination open to Oppidans and Collegers alike. Before 1829 the talent and industry of boys in the Upper Division and in the sixth form could only be measured by a reference to the number of their "sent up" exercises; or, in other words, by the proficiency they had shown in the composition of Latin and Greek verses; but the importance avowedly attached to other branches of classical study in the examination for the Newcastle Scholarship, roused ambition in the minds of many who, though quite disposed to work, did not happen to possess the peculiar knack of writing verses.[2] The competitors soon discovered the advantage of the help afforded by "private business" in pupil-room, and all the tutors were put on their mettle. Nor must we fail to notice the beneficial effect produced by the exaction of a

[1] *Report of Public Schools Commission.* Eton Evidence, 3701.

[2] *Eton College Magazine*, p. 231.

fair knowledge of divinity as a necessary condition of success.

It seems incredible that there should ever have been an entire absence of religious teaching at the greatest school in Christian England; yet such, from all accounts, must have been the case at Eton until about fifty years ago. This was less the fault of individual tutors than of the established system which practically debarred an excellent pious man like J. B. Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, from saying a single word about God to his pupils. The establishment of the Newcastle Scholarship enabled Mr. Chapman, Mr. Wilder, and Mr. Coleridge, to substitute a lesson in the Greek Testament, for a repetition of Virgil or Juvenal on Sunday mornings. Their efforts and example bore fruit in course of time, but Sunday can hardly be said to have been observed as a day of rest at any period during Dr. Keate's reign, the hour between two and three o'clock, especially being spent in a manner which would now be considered disgraceful. All the boys (except of course those who were under the jurisdiction of the Lower-Master) had to repair to the Upper School directly after dinner, in order to listen to a singular harangue, called "Prose" by everybody except Dr. Keate, who used to say "Prose, prose; I don't know anything about *prose;* I suppose you mean *prayers.*" When all were assembled, the Head-Master read aloud a short discourse on abstract morality taken from Blair's "Sermons," or from the works of some pagan writer like Epictetus, and then he gave out to the fifth and sixth forms the subject for their Latin theme for the ensuing week, themes which were composed so rapidly that the tutors were often able to look over several copies before going

into church at three o'clock. Perhaps it was as well that passages relating to more sacred subjects were not read at "Prose," for they would only have been received with contempt. In one of the Eton Magazines of the time, a new boy is represented as making the following notes in his diary :—

"Was told that I must go into—(dear me, I cannot think of the word, some very odd one)—went into the Upper School, heard something read, could not hear what, and on something being said afterwards, the whole school raised a yell, booing, hissing, and scraping feet. I was thunderstruck at their audacity, listened to hear what would be said to it, thought it amounted almost to a *rebellion*, thought it disgraceful, surprised all was allowed to pass so quietly."[1]

This fairly describes what took place almost every Sunday afternoon during a long series of years, the noise in the Upper School being so great as to arrest the attention of all passers-by. It was, in truth, impossible for any one man, however resolute, to coerce such an assemblage of boys. We can scarcely doubt that "Prose" was altogether distasteful to Dr. Keate, who would have been glad to spend his Sundays at least in peace, but he could make no change without the permission of Dr. Goodall, that most conservative of Provosts, and the abuse was tolerated until the days of Dr. Hawtrey.

Mathematics fared little better than divinity fifty years ago, the study of Euclid, of algebra, and even of arithmetic being practically optional. It was said at the time that some of the cleverest boys in the School would have stood a bad chance if tried in the rule of

[1] *The Kaleidoscope*, p. 177.

three.[1] The only mathematical teacher was Major Hexter, the Writing-Master,

> "In College the handiest man you can find
> For improvements of all sorts, both buildings and mind."[2]

He once made a formal complaint that his authority was despised, and requested the Provost's permission to wear a gown like the other masters. "By all means," replied Dr. Goodall, blandly: "you can do as you like." "And then, of course, the boys will touch their hats to me, and shirk me?" "As to that, Major Hexter, they must do as *they* like."

Dr. Keate must not be held responsible for all the deficiencies in the system of education pursued at Eton when he was Head-Master; but it can scarcely be denied that his own policy was unsatisfactory in several respects. Although personally upright, conscientious, and straightforward, he had a rooted distrust of the honour of boys, and he used to make point-blank charges of lying quite indiscriminately. The effect of this unwise course on his part was to encourage the very evil which he wished to check. Then again the practice of flogging, indispensable perhaps at any large school, was certainly carried to an extreme by Dr. Keate. Slight offences, such as "shirking absence," were visited with the same punishment as others of a graver character, and the frequency of the infliction deadened the sense of disgrace which corporal punishment ought to convey.[3] The very fact of a rule being made that a boy should lose his remove if flogged three times in one day, speaks volumes, for Eton boys were probably little worse

[1] *The Etonian* (1824), vol. iii. p. 193.

[2] *The English Spy*, vol. i. p. 55.

[3] *Self-Formation* [by Capel Lofft], vol. i. p. 84.

in those days than they are now. Keate's victims declared that his very name was derived from χέω (I shed) ἄτη (woe)[1] and many still remember him simply as a kind of executioner. Some go so far as to say that flogging was a pleasure to him, and stories in support of this view abound. A boy who was one day wrongly accused of a misdemeanour pleaded an *alibi*, admitting that he had been out of bounds, but this did not save him, for as he enumerated his actions in detail, Keate interposed at the end of every sentence, "Then I'll flog you for that." One of the best stories of the period describes the misadventure of a batch of candidates for confirmation whose names were by accident sent up to the Head-Master on a piece of paper identical in size and shape with the "bill"[2] used by the Masters for the purpose of reporting delinquents. Keate, we are told, insisted on flogging all the boys mentioned in the document, being the more angry with them for attempting to escape punishment by setting up a plea which seemed to him both false and irreverent.[3]

Another story gives the Doctor's comment on the sixth Beatitude—"'Blessed are the pure in heart' Mind that; it's your duty to be pure in heart. If you are not pure in heart, I'll flog you." This may be apocryphal, but it is certain that Keate was in the habit of using this particular threat on the most inappropriate occasions. A bishop of our own day, noted

[1] *Guide to Eton*, p. 7.

[2] The following definition occurs in one of the Eton magazines:—"Bill, a trifling thin slip of paper with names doomed to flagellation inscribed thereon; each line as bad as a lawyer's items; being a 'bill of exchange' of birch for idleness; the terror of lower boys, and the laughing-stock of sixth-form præpostors."—*The Kaleidosocope*, p. 107.

[3] *Etoniana*, p. 103.

alike at school and on the bench for his gentle and amiable character, remembers the last words addressed to him by Keate. He had gone to "take leave," he had duly deposited his bank-note on the table, and he was going out of "chambers," when the Doctor called out after him. "Now mind you behave quietly. If I hear of your making a noise at your dame's, I'll have you brought back, and I'll flog you."

Block and Birch.

But all stories of Keate's dealings with individual cases sink into insignificance beside the fact that on one occasion he flogged more than eighty boys. Laughable as were some of its incidents, this wholesale chastisement was one of the wisest measures of his administration. The lower division of the fifth form had taken offence at being ordered to answer to

their names every evening in summer at eight o'clock, like the "lower boys," and determined to try their strength against the Head-Master. They accordingly stayed away from absence one evening, agreeing unanimously that if summoned to the block on the following day they would refuse to submit to punishment. Dr. Keate was fully alive to the danger which menaced his authority, but he hit upon a clever device for averting it. He waited until the young rebels were safe in bed, and then he sent the tutors round to the different houses, to arouse them, and bring them to him in relays of two or three. Thus taken by surprise, the boys had no opportunity of arranging any common line of action; each of them was ignorant of what his friends would do, and resolved for his own part to be on the safe side. Keate dealt with them one by one, and the operation lasted until long after midnight.[1]

"Then cleft the room with screeches riven,
Then rushed the boys to flogging driven,
And louder than the wind of heaven
Far flew the buds quite terribly.

. . . .

"Few, few shall stay where many are.
No refuge bed shall be from care,
And every cry which comes from far,
Is, 'Oh, this hurts most wofully.'"[2]

Sore in mind and body, the boys could not but admit the next morning that they had been beaten in every sense of the word. Thus did Keate suppress the last attempt at rebellion which he had to encounter.

Stories illustrating the gentler side of Keate's cha-

[1] See the amusing account of the occurrence in *Etoniana*, pp. 104—109.

[2] Lines by E. M. Goulburn (now Dean of Norwich) in the *Kaleidoscope*, p. 280.

racter are not so common or so popular, but they are none the less true. It is on record that he freely pardoned a boy who had thrown a stone at him in school, on his giving himself up and apologizing.[1] That he could restrain himself even when armed with the birch, is shown by his forbearance towards an eminent living statesman who, when acting as præpostor, got into trouble for omitting from the bill the name of a friend who had missed a lesson. Before commanding the præpostor to kneel down, Keate charged him with a breach of trust. The boy, showing even then a promptitude for debate and a power of detecting microscopic differences which have since become famous, defended himself by saying—"I beg your pardon, sir; it would have been a breach of trust if I had undertaken the office of præpostor by my own wish; but it was forced upon me." Keate yielded, and let him off. Those who knew this Master best, agree in saying that his roughness of manner was assumed for the purpose of coercing the boys, and that in private life he was kind, courteous, and gentle.[2]

Dr. Keate was a great master of oratory, and the hints which he gave to sixth-form boys when they were rehearsing their speeches to him in private, proved invaluable to them in their subsequent careers as statesmen, as preachers, or as pleaders in the courts of law. An English speech was seldom tolerated in his day, and all the speeches, whether in Latin, Greek, or English, were real speeches, not mere recitations of poetry. It was generally remarked that the best speeches and declamations in the Upper School were those delivered by the members of the dramatic com-

[1] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 3665.

[2] *The Guardian*, June 30, 1875.

panies, which from time to time were organized among the boys. Moultrie mentions the performances in Long Chamber in his own day.

"'Twas a sight
Worthy of more fastidious eyes than ours—
That motley pageant of fantastic garbs
Assembled in our green-room; boyhood's limbs
Robed in the grave habiliments of age;—
The corpulent round paunch of monk or friar,—
The rustic with red mass of hair unkempt,
Smock-frock, and scarlet hose, and nether vest
Of buckskin, begg'd or borrowed, for the nonce
E'en from the haunch of veritable clown—
And (stranger, more fantastic than all else)
The garb, shape, face, and voice of womanhood,
Aped by some beardless boy. . . . .

"All alike,
Actors and audience, willing both to please
And to be pleased, received and gave, by turns
Reciprocal enjoyment; well I wot
None such was ever felt in Drury Lane!"[1]

The poet was himself one of the actors, and according to one of his contemporaries, was unrivalled in domestic pathos.[2] He was one of the managers of the most successful series of performances which have ever been given by Eton boys. It was in 1817 or 1818 that a room was hired, near the river, to serve as a theatre, and a company formed consisting of Oppidans as well as Collegers. Before long a better room was found at a coal-merchant's in Datchet Lane, Windsor, between the bridge and the site of the present South-Western Railway Station. Howard, afterwards Lord Carlisle, and Germain Lavie were

[1] *The Dream of Life*, pp. 66—67.

[2] He alludes to his own acting in the first three stanzas of his *Godiva* in the *Etonian*.

the first managers, and they were succeeded by Robert Crawfurd and John Moultrie. Lord Tullamore was one of the principal actors, and on one occasion he is said to have moved the whole audience to tears by his impersonation of Sir Philip Blandford.[1] Praed was also a member of the company. These theatricals were winked at by the authorities, and patronized by the dames and the masters' wives who used openly to go down to Datchet Lane in their sedan chairs. At last it became impossible for Dr. Keate to ignore performances which were so much talked about, and he told the managers plainly that they had been sent to Eton to become scholars and not actors, and that the theatre must be closed.[2]

Two of the Masters, Drury and Knapp, were enthusiastic admirers of the drama, and were in the habit of going up to town whenever any special star was to perform. They used often to leave Eton on Saturday afternoon and return on the Monday morning in time (or occasionally not in time) for early school, looking over exercises as they drove along in their curricle. Sometimes they would each take a favoured pupil to see the play, and to sup and sleep at the Hummums or the Bedford in Covent Garden. Captain Gronow relates how on one of these expeditions, when their young companions were Lord Sunderland and a son of Lord Eldon, they sallied forth at night in search of adventures, and "created such a disturbance, that after several chivalrous encounters with the watchmen, they were taken to Bow Street, and had to be bailed out of durance vile by the secretary of the all-powerful Chancellor."[3]

[1] *Poetry of the College Magazine.*
[2] *Etoniana*, pp. 186—191.
[3] *Recollections and Anecdotes*, Second Series, pp. 79—81.

WINDSOR CASTLE,

from the Provost's Lodge at Eton.

Some years later another attempt at amateur theatricals was made, and several performances were given at Turnock's rooms in the High Street of Eton. However, the Head-Master one day seized a copy of the playbill in school, and called up all the *dramatis personæ* in turn, beginning with the ladies.[1]

Dr. Keate looked with more favour on associations which some of the boys formed among themselves for mutual improvement in English composition and oratory. There were several small debating societies at Eton in the early years of the present century, but they proved shortlived with one exception, and the continuance of that one to the present time is probably due to the fact that it was never from the very first exclusively a debating society. The existing institution was founded in 1811, by Charles Fox Townshend, a young man of great promise, who died at the early age of twenty-two, while he was a candidate for the representation in Parliament of the University of Cambridge; and he successfully resisted all proposals that it should be named the "Eton Literary Society," or the "Eton Debating Society." The "Eton Society," as it was formally named, was and is still, a social club as well as a school for oratory. It deserves notice as an institution not founded, not inspected, not patronized, not coerced, by men, flourishing for sixty-four years, and apparently as durable as the Jockey Club or Brooks's. In former times the members were known as the "*Literati*," and Dr. Keate used to make a point of calling one of them up in the *Ibam forte* satire of Horace. The boy, well aware of what was expected of him, would translate "*docti sumus*," "I belong to the *Literati*," to which Keate

[1] *Etoniana*, pp. 192–193.

would as regularly reply, "Oh, you do, do you? I am very glad to hear it. I wish more boys belonged to it." "And then," says Dr. Jelf, "came the well-known 'Silence! be quiet;' with which he pretended to check the applause which his facetiousness had provoked."[1] The term *Literati* fell into disuse before long, and the club acquired the less dignified name of "Pop," by which it is still generally known—a name for which youthful etymologists have discovered many a farfetched derivation. Some have said that it was meant to indicate the *pop*-ularity of the members; others have declared that the weekly speeches were as frothy as ginger-*pop*; but the best authorities are now agreed in thinking that the Eton Society owés its monosyllabic name to the rooms it originally occupied in the house of a Mrs. Hatton, who kept what might with equal propriety be styled *popina* in Latin, or lolly-*pop* shop in English. This situation was purposely chosen with a view to the establishment of an ordinary for the members, who bound themselves to breakfast together at least once a week. The number of members was originally fixed at 20, but it was soon raised to 30. In 1816, it had dwindled down to about 14, and the Society was only saved from dissolution by energetic protests on the part of old members at Oxford and Cambridge, especially a letter from C. F. Townshend to the President, which was read from the chair. It ended in the following manner:—

"I trust sincerely, that having braved the tempest and ridden out the storm, it may not founder from a leak within; and as I appeal to you on our behalf who were your progenitors, so

[1] *Contemporary Review*, vol. iii. p. 562.

[2] *Ibid.* and *Etoniana*, p. 207.

do I more especially on your own, lest at some future period you should repent this destructive measure, and like the Trojan Æneas, who, bewailing the fate of that Troy which he had both seen and known, burst forth into that pathetic exclamation—

'*Trojaque nunc stares, Priamique arx alta maneres!*"

The weekly debates were on historical and literary subjects, one of the rules being that modern politics as well as religion should be excluded. When some of the members showed a disposition to air their views on questions of the day, Dr. Keate interposed to check it. Nevertheless, the merits and demerits of corporal punishment have more than once been formally discussed in "Pop" by boys to whom the Head-Master's birch has been a dread reality.[1] The quality of the debates has varied very much from time to time, according to the prevailing tone among the elder boys. "Private business" (or discussion in Committee on the management of the Society) was often more interesting than the formal debates, and gave wider opportunities for the display of individual character. "Pop" has always had a great social power. Collegers were not excluded from it, and there alone, in the days when they were generally despised, was it possible for them to make friendships with their schoolfellows. In a lesser degree, it was a neutral meeting ground for the leaders of the "wet bobs" and "dry bobs."

The Eton Society never had sufficient funds in hand to buy many books, and it was to meet an obvious want that a library was established in 1821, over Mr. Williams's shop, chiefly by the exertions of Winthrop

[1] *MS. Journals of the Eton Society.*

Mackworth Praed. The number of members was limited to 100 at the top of the School.[1]

For several years after the last issue of the "Miniature," the literary talent of Eton found no expression save in the Latin verses and themes which had to be written week after week; but in 1818 the taste for English composition asserted itself more strongly than ever, and two rival manuscript magazines were set on foot. One of these, exclusively the production of Collegers, attracted little attention;[2] the other, the "College Magazine," got as far as an eighteenth number in the course of a twelvemonth, and might perhaps have lasted longer, if John Moultrie, one of the principal contributors, had not forsaken it for a magazine of his own called the "*Horæ Otiosæ*." A selection of poetry from the "College Magazine" and the "*Horæ Otiosæ*" was made by Walter Blunt, a Colleger, and fifty copies were printed for private circulation in 1819. In the following summer Praed started another manuscript magazine, called the "*Apis Matina*," which was so favourably received that he determined on trying his hand at something more ambitious after the holidays. He was fortunate in numbering among his personal friends several young men of singular ability, and it was by their assistance that he won for his comparatively short-lived periodical, the "Etonian," a unique position in English literature. It was mainly the work of schoolboys, for contributions from old Etonians were not allowed to occupy more than a limited space in each number, and several pieces which in the table of contents are credited to under-

[1] *The Etonian* (1824), vol. ii. p. 208.

[2] It was called the *Linger*, or *Colleger*, G. B. Maturin and W. G. Cookesley were the editors.

graduates at the universities, had in reality been written by them before they left Eton. Thus, for instance, Moultrie's lines on "My Brother's Grave," and "The Hall of my Fathers," were originally composed for the "*Horæ Otiosæ*," and several articles were reproduced from the pages of the "*Apis Matina*."

The contents of the "Etonian" were of a miscellaneous character, though the grave element in it bore but a small proportion to the gay. Each number began with a lively account of the proceedings of a fictitious society by whose members the magazine was supposed to be conducted, under the presidency of Peregrine Courtenay, King of Clubs. A rough woodcut of his Majesty, enlarged from a playing-card, always appeared on the cover, to the great disgust of the *savants* of the "Quarterly Review," who rejoiced in the simplicity of their own plain drab. Blunt and Praed were the editors, the former undertaking the correction of proofs and other similar drudgery, the latter pouring forth brilliant prose and yet more brilliant verse with extraordinary facility. Praed was indeed the mainspring of the whole enterprise, and the most frequent contributor. As we read "The Eve of Battle," "Laura," "The County Ball," "Gog," and "Surly Hall," and other poems of his, it is difficult to realize that they were the productions of a boy in his teens. John Moultrie, William Sidney Walker, and Henry Nelson Coleridge were but little older; and the most noteworthy point in connection with the "Etonian" is that so many of its contributors had at a very early age acquired a refinement of idea and powers of expression rarely to be found, except among full-grown men of high genius and culture.

The story of the "Etonian" has been told more than

once,[1] and we need not dwell on it here. Suffice it to say that the first number went out of print in the course of a few weeks, that it caused the flagging sale of the "Microcosm" and "Miniature" to revive, that it was favourably noticed in the "Quarterly Review," and that its principal editor went up to Cambridge with a higher reputation than any Etonian since the days of George Canning.[2] It might have been supposed that an important magazine like the "Etonian" would have left no room for any other literary undertaking in the School, yet we find that another periodical was being published weekly under different auspices. The "Salt-bearer," as it was called, was started in May 1820, and its editor, "Mr. Benjamin Bookworm," went out of his way to find fault with the "*Apis Matina*" on several occasions. "Peregrine Courtenay" retaliated in the first number of the "Etonian," and the feud was never appeased until the suppression of the "Salt-bearer," in April 1821. The article in which Praed announced to his supporters the literary decease of his rival, is so characteristic that we cannot refrain from quoting his estimate of the quality of the four Eton magazines which had got into print.

"When I throw a glance over the journey which our Etonian writers have travelled, I fancy that I see three different routes leading towards the same point. In the centre, Messrs. Griffin and Grildrig are riding a couple of clever nags, at a good round trot; on one side, Mr. Bookworm is bestriding what is commonly termed 'a safe cob for an infirm gentleman;' which scrambles over his ground in such a manner, that the spectators imagine he will come to a dead stop every

[1] Knight's *Passages of a Working Life*, vol. i. pp. 280—294. Derwent Coleridge's *Memoir of W. M. Praed*, pp. xvii—xxiii.

[2] Coleridge's *Memoir of W. M. Praed*, p. xxvi.

instant: on the other side is Mr. Courtenay,—whip and spur, whip and spur, the whole way; up hill and down hill, bush and briar, furze and fence,—it is the same thing. Mr. C., they say, never uses a curb; and the animal occasionally waxes so formidably obstinate, that he has infinite difficulty in keeping his seat."[1]

The real name of Mr. Benjamin Bookworm has never been published, but, whoever he was, he can hardly escape the reproach of dulness, notwithstanding his frequent attacks on the "Etonian." A continuation of the "Salt-bearer," called the "Student," was started in June, 1821, by "Solomon Sap, Esq., of the College of Eton," but it never reached a second number.[2] The "Etonian" itself came to an end in the following month, when Praed ceased to be an Eton boy. However, it was not long before the principal writers in the "Etonian," Praed, Moultrie, Walker, and H. N. Coleridge,[3] combined with Derwent Coleridge, T. Babington Macaulay, and Henry Malden, to bring out a London serial—"Knight's Quarterly Magazine."

There is a gap of some six years in the annals of Eton literature after the abdication of "Peregrine Courtenay, King of Clubs." The "Eton Miscellany," which appeared in 1827, was in every way less ambitious than the "Etonian," though several of its contributors have in after life attained greater eminence than the most

[1] *The Etonian* (1824), vol. iii. p. 173.

[2] This and several other Eton Magazines which do not exist in the British Museum may be seen in the Hope Collection at Oxford.

[3] The other writers in the *Etonian* were the Hon. F. Ashley, Edmund Beales (of Hyde Park celebrity) W. Crichton, the Hon. F. Curzon, Richard Durnford (Bishop of Chichester), C. Fursdon, H. Neech, W. H. Ord, T. P. Outram, J. L. Petit, Walter Trower (Bishop), Chauncey Hare Townsend, R. Streatfield, and J. A. Kinglake.

successful of the staff of the earlier magazine. One of them has been Prime Minister of England, a second has been the chief organizer of the Colonial Church, while others have distinguished themselves in politics, in literature, and at the bar.[1] The "Oppidan," an Eton publication of the year 1828, gave flashes of the old spirit, especially in some lines on the Louvre, but only two numbers were published. The "Eton College Magazine," which went through eight numbers in 1832,[2] and its successor, the "Kaleidoscope," are only interesting in so far as they deal with incidents of school life.[3]

The records of cricket at Eton become more abundant as we enter upon a period within the memory of many persons now living. Apart from differences in the code of rules, it is worthy of remark that sixty years ago the game was specially patronized by Collegers; an eleven selected from their scanty number, for there were seldom more than fifty of them on the list, used annually to contend on equal terms with an eleven selected from the rest of the School. In one particular year, when there were no less than eight of them in the Eton eleven, the Collegers had every reason to anticipate an easy victory over the Oppidans, but in the end they were ignominiously beaten.

[1] The writers were W. E. Gladstone, G. A. Selwyn, J. Milnes Gaskell, Francis H. Doyle (Sir F. H. D.), John Hanmer (Lord Hanmer), Frederick Rogers (Lord Blachford), J. W. Colvile (Sir J. W. C.), W. E. Jelf, J. H. Law, P. A. Pickering, L. H Shadwell, W. Skirrow, Charles Wilder, and A. H. Hallam (the subject of *In Memoriam*).

[2] The writers were John Wickens, the Hon. G. W. Lyttelton (Lord Lyttelton), Thomas Phinn, A. J. Ellis, W. P. Bolland, and C. G. Wynne.

[3] The writers were A. J. Ellis, T. B. Charlton, H. Rycroft, G. Cunningham, the Hon. G. W. Lyttelton (Lord Lyttelton) F. H. Doyle (Sir F. H. D.), E. Goulburn (Dean of Norwich), J. Hamilton, J. Jermyn, R. Lloyd, J. G. Lonsdale, and Alfred Mills.

So mortified were they at the result of the match that they dressed their bats in black crape, and left them fastened up against the wall in Long Chamber, until John Harding retrieved the honour of College by an innings which was considered wonderful in those days. Although traditions of Harding's play survived for many a long year after he and his friends had left Eton, it is difficult, after this lapse of time, to ascertain whether his score on the memorable occasion amounted to 74 or to 86, and whether it was made against Marylebone or Epsom. All accounts agree in stating that he hit a ball from the middle of the Upper Shooting Fields (now called Upper Club) over the chestnut-trees, into the Lower Shooting Fields. Such a feat was without precedent, and the hero of the day was carried back to College in triumph by his jubilant school-fellows.[1] The bat, too, received special honours, and is still in existence, having been bequeathed by its original owner to Mr. G. R. Dupuis, son of one of the eleven of 1814, and himself a famous cricketer. Many old Etonians can quote by heart the lines which were written at the time by W. M. Stone, a Colleger :—

"It was a bat full fair to see,
And it drove the balls right lustily;
Without a flaw, without a speck,
Smooth as fair Hebe's ivory neck,
It was withal so light, so neat,
That Harding called it—'Mrs. Keate.'"[2]

The second match between Eton and Harrow was played at Lord's in 1818, and was won by Harrow; as was also that played in 1822.[3] The tide of fortune

[1] *Bailey's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 348, *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxv. p. 15.

[2] *Etoniana*, p. 113.

[3] The boys who played for Eton in 1818 were a "scratch

turned after this, and the Etonians won easily in 1823, 1824, 1825, 1827, 1828, and again in 1832, when they made 249 runs in one innings against 49 and 44. Harrow won in 1833. The Wykehamists won their first match against the Etonians in 1826, and the two rival elevens were alternately victorious in the matches played at Lord's in 1829, 1830, 1832, and 1833.[1] Contests of this kind between the different Public Schools were not thought so much of then as they are in our day, and they used to take place during the summer holidays, when few boys were in London. The great events in the cricketing year at Eton were the matches played in the Upper Shooting Fields against King's College, Marylebone, and Epsom.

> "Oh! who can e'er forget,
> When the day fix'd for final conflict came,
> How breathlessly we rush'd, from school let loose,
> To view the mighty game!—how from afar,
> Between the umbrageous trees of Poet's Walk,
> The slim white figures of the combatants
> Glanced on our eager sight! with what suspense,—
> What alternations swift of hope and fear,
> We watch'd the progress of the game! . . . .
> . . . . . Then, if at last
> The fortune of the day declared for us,—
> With what a maddening shout of victory
> We rent the welkin! Waterloo itself,
> (For Waterloo was fought in those wild days)
> Scarce seem'd a mightier triumph than some match
> Won against Epsom."[2]

The costume of the players is described as "a white jean jacket, fitting easily to the figure, with the blue

team," not the regular school eleven. *The Etonian* (1824), vol. iii. p. 229.

[1] Lillywhite's *Public School Matches*.

[2] Moultrie's *Dream of Life*.

tie of Eton; nankeen shorts and ribbed silk stockings, with socks tightly folded over the ankle, and the white hat jauntily put on."[1] Whenever there was a cricket-match, Dr. Keate used to call absence in the Playing Fields, instead of in the School Yard.

Sheep Bridge and Sixth Form Bench.

Boating was not formally recognized by the School authorities before the days of Dr. Hawtrey, but ever since the beginning of the present century,

[1] *Bailey's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 346.

boys had been practically free from interference while they were on the river, though the road to it was "out of bounds." Dr. Keate is only known to have interfered in the matter on one occasion, when he had heard by chance that the eight intended to row up to Surly before Easter. He tried to prevent this by threatening to expel any one who should take part in the expedition, but finding that the boys paid little attention to his threats, he resolved to waylay them and catch them in the act of disobedience. Unfortunately for himself he allowed his purpose to transpire, and the boys contrived to hoax him finely. On the appointed day a crew of watermen, dressed up to represent the Eton eight, and wearing masks over their faces, started from the Brocas, in the presence of a crowd of townspeople who had come out to see what would happen. Keate caught sight of them from the bank before they had reached Upper Hope, and shouted: "Foolish boys, I know you all. Lord ——, I know you. A ——, you had better come ashore. Come here, or you will all be expelled."[1] The boat, however, pursued its course steadily, several of the Masters giving chase on horseback, and the *ruse* was not discovered until the crew disembarked and took off their masks with a loud "hurrah." Keate was furious, and vowed that there should be no Easter holidays unless the boys who had all along been hooting him from behind the hedges gave themselves up, and some twenty victims were accordingly immolated. "Most of the Masters enjoy the joke," wrote Henry Drury of Harrow, who was staying at Eton with his brother a few days later. "Keate sits in sullen retirement and eats his own

[1] *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxvi. p. 352.

soul."[1] The most important result of the affair was that the watermen and other "cads" were thenceforth forbidden to set foot in the Long Walk at Eton.

It was at one time customary for watermen to be employed to row stroke in the Lower Boats, but in course of time the boys found that they could manage well enough by themselves, and ever since 1828 the stroke oar has been taken by the captain of each crew. The distinction between Upper Boats and Lower Boats was much more strongly marked in those days than it is at present, boys in the Remove and fourth form being freely admitted to the Lower Boats. The names of the Boats and their order of precedence varied considerably from year to year, the ten-oared "Monarch" alone retaining its position as the first on the list, with the Captain of the Boats for its stroke. In 1811 the names of the other Boats were "Dreadnought," "Defiance," "Rival," "Mars," and "Mercury," names which have since been dropped and taken up again at pleasure. In the interval between 1811 and 1832 there were other boats called "Hibernia," "Albion," "Trafalgar," "Nelson," "Britannia," "Etonian," "Victory," "St. George," "Thetis," "Prince George," and "Adelaide." Previously to 1824 one or more of the Lower Boats had always been a six-oar, but since that year all the Boats, with the exception of the "Monarch," have been eight-oars. The number of Boats has never been more than nine or less than six.[2]

The 4th of June annually brought crowds of visitors to Eton to see the procession of Boats; but even the 4th

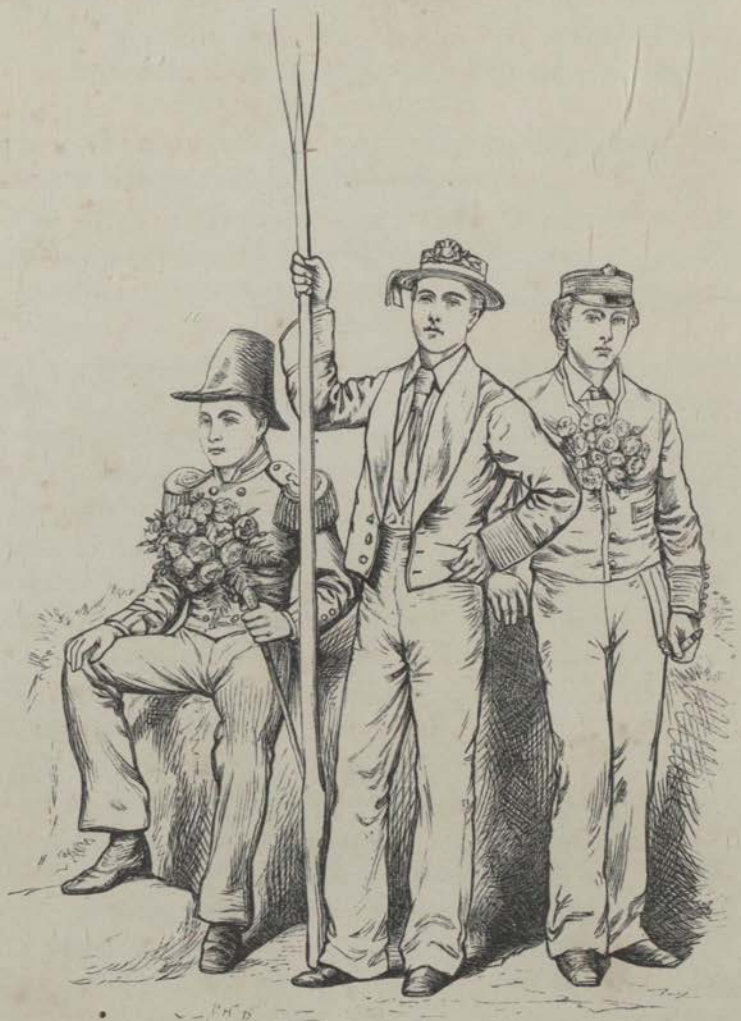
[1] MS. Correspondence of Provost Hodgson. The incident took place about the year 1822.

[2] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book.*

of June has been described as "wanting in the bacchanal jubilation of Election Saturday."[1] On both these festive days the Boats started for Surly Hall in regular order, but the spirit of rivalry is strong in boys, and the formal procession often degenerated into a bumping race. An old Eton oarsman records how, in 1816, the "Defiance" bumped the "Mars" after an exciting race, and the two crews came to blows in the High Street of Eton on their way back to College.[2] The extravagantly fantastic dresses worn by the oarsmen on the 4th of June and Election Saturday, as mentioned in the last chapter, were given up about the year 1814, and a regular uniform was adopted, to all intents and purposes the same as that worn by the crews in 1875. It consisted of a dark blue cloth jacket, a striped or checked shirt of some distinctive pattern, a straw hat bearing the name of the Boat, and trousers of dark blue cloth for the boys in the Upper Boats, and of white jean for those in the Lower Boats. The steerers continued to wear fancy dresses of their own choosing until 1828, when they too adopted a regular uniform, viz.: that of officers in the Royal Navy, Lieutenants, Captains, and Admirals, according to the precedence to which their respective boats were entitled.[3]

It was not unusual for a Boat to carry in its stern an extra person called a "sitter," and it was in this capacity that Canning was rowed up the river in 1824,[4] and Prince George of Cambridge in 1831 and 1833.[5] In later times sitters have generally provided a dozen or two of champagne in return for the compliment paid

[1] *Bailey's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 350.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 355.
[3] *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxiv. p. 354.
[4] *Annual Register*, vol. lxix. p. 480.
[5] *Berkshire Chronicle*, 1831, and 1833.



GROUP ON THE FOURTH OF JUNE.

to them. The procession has, from time immemorial, started from the Brocas soon after six o'clock absence, and, in Dr. Keate's time, it used to be accompanied along the bank by a crowd of Eton boys on horseback. Every old screw in the neighbourhood was in requisition, but the young riders were not over-fastidious.[1] The crews of the Boats, and the members of the fifth and sixth forms, had supper *al fresco* in a field opposite to Surly Hall, after which everybody returned to the Brocas to see the fireworks.

Strange as it may appear to persons educated under a different system, these festivities went on year after year, not allowed, not forbidden. Provost Goodall used to say, "I wonder why Mrs. Goodall always dines early on the 4th of June, and orders her carriage at six." "Lock up," was half-an-hour later than usual that night, though Dr. Keate professed himself ignorant of the reason of this annual indulgence,[2] and, as a matter of fact, the Masters often went to see the fireworks, knowing that they were not likely to be recognized in the dark.

Of course, the "wet bobs" of that time cared for boating for its own sake, independently of the pageants of the 4th of June and Election Saturday.

> "On the breast,
> Of Thames, it was our pride in trim-built skiffs
> To shoot amain—now singly, now in crews,
> With lusty tug of oar, in eager race
> Contending."[3]

[1] See Praed's *Surly Hall*, in the *Etonian*, No. X., and Durnford's *Rashleigh Letter Bag*, in No. IX.

[2] Durnford's *Rashleigh Letter Bag*, in the *Etonian*, No. IX. Little boys could on a holiday reach Surly by 12.20 P.M., and spend a happy hour playing skittles. It was almost the only place where they enjoyed perfect freedom from fagging.

[3] Moultrie's *Dream of Life*.

"Upper Sixes," "Lower Sixes," "Sculling Sweepstakes," "Pulling Sweepstakes," "Double Sculling," and races between Fours or Eights of different houses, were all instituted as early as the days of Dr. Keate. The idea of singling out the best eight oarsmen in the School to row together in one boat seems to have originated about the year 1820, in anticipation of a race against Westminster, but the race was given up in consequence of the disapproval of the authorities.[1] The first race between the two Schools was rowed at Putney, on Election Monday, 1829, for 100*l.* a-side, each boat being steered by a professional. The Etonians won easily, though their stroke, Lord Waterford, and several other members of the crew, did not belong to the regular Boats.[2] There was no race in 1830; but in the following year a race took place in the middle summer half, the course being from Maidenhead to a "rye-peck" below Monkey Island, and back again up stream. On this occasion also Eton was successful.[3] The anomalous relation then existing between the authorities and the boys is well illustrated by the fact that Dr. Keate never heard a word about the race until it was over. The first notice he received of it was at 6 o'clock "absence" that afternoon, when amid loud cheers, a St. Bernard dog, belonging to one of the Masters, was led up to him covered all over with the pale blue rosettes the boys had worn. He asked the Præpostor by his side what this demonstration meant, and when told, "Please, sir, we've just beaten Westminster," he smiled, and, as usual, said, "Foolish boys!" The

[1] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*, p. viii.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 5. See also *Sporting Magazine*, new series, vol. xiv. p. 370.

[3] *Sporting Magazine*, new series, vol. iii. p. 137, and Blake-Humfrey, p. 10.

victorious crew, however, was beaten soon afterwards by the Leander Club in a race from Windsor Bridge to Surly and back.[1] It must be remembered that there was no Lock at Boveney in those days, and the distance could be accomplished in somewhat heavy boats in a few minutes over half-an-hour.[2]

> "But even this,
> For some adventurous spirits was too dull
> And spiritless a joy! Such burnt to win
> The sportman's noble fame, albeit alloy'd
> By ill report of poacher;—with the dawn,
> O'erleaping the restraint of bolts and bars,
> They ranged, with dog and gun, the near preserves,
> Or from forbidden waters bore the lines
> Rich with nocturnal spoil."[3]

Capel Lofft records how he and one of his schoolfellows kept two or three couple of harriers near Blackpots for the purpose of hunting rabbits. There was other game in abundance just across the river, and they did not long resist the temptation to go in quest of it. Their first expedition into the Little Park met with undeserved success; but on repeating the offence a few days later, Capel Lofft narrowly escaped being caught, and dropped his gun in his anxiety to get back safely over the wall.[4] Another boy met with a worse misfortune close to the same spot. Having killed a hare, and hidden it away under a long coat borrowed for the occasion, he came in sight of a keeper who, after a short chase, deliberately fired at him. The bullet grazed his leg, and he was obliged to "stay out" on the sick-list for some time, his plea being that

[1] *Sporting Magazine*, new series, vol. iii. p. 323, and *Berkshire Chronicle*, 1831, p. 337. These two accounts do not quite tally.

[2] *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxiv. p. 352.

[3] Moultrie's *Dream of Life*.

[4] *Self-Formation*, vol. i. pp. 175—177.

he had met with an accident while scrambling through a hedge, for he could not well complain of the keeper without compromising himself.

There was hardly a house from which the boys could not escape with ease for a poaching expedition of a morning, or for a visit to the "Christopher" at night. "Is all right?" asked a future Cabinet Minister, as he was preparing to descend from his window one dark evening to meet a friend. "Right as my left leg," answered a voice from below, and the boy dropped into the arms of Ben. Drury.

Driving was a fashionable, though of course a forbidden, amusement at Eton during the first quarter of the present century. The names of some of the best whips are given in the "College Magazine," and a few years later we read of one of the townspeople :—

> "Savager keeps a decent nag,
> But's very shy of lending,
> Since she put down her tandem drag
> For fear of Keate offending."[1]

Nevertheless gigs and tandems are enumerated together with cricket, boating, beagles, and rows, in a list of Eton amusements, in a magazine published almost under the eyes of the authorities in 1833.[2] There were other pastimes far less legitimate. Bull-baiting went on with vigour in Bachelor's Acre, and badger-baits, dog-fights, and cat and duck hunts, were organized for the special edification of the Eton boys. It was a good thing for the moral tone of the School when the "cads," who were the prime movers in all kinds of wickedness, and the worst possible companions for the sons of gentlemen, were expelled from their place of daily resort—the Long Walk. Brute beasts were not

[1] *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 86. | [2] *Kaleidoscope*, p. 205.

the only sufferers at the hands of boys whose feelings had become blunted by familiarity with cruel sights. Independently of the organized system of fagging, which in those days pressed more heavily on lower boys than it does now, we hear of gross cases of bullying which would not be tolerated at present.

To quote the eloquent words of Dr. Hawtrey :—

"The Objects of such kind of Ill-usage are not those over whom there is any lawful or conventional Right;—they are the Weak, the Timid, the Eccentric, and the Unsociable; sometimes those who have none of these Failings, but who from some Peculiarity of Character, are not acceptable to all, who are nevertheless capable of warm Friendship, who are even possessed of no common mental Powers, which *might* have expanded into great private and public Usefulness, but which *may* be also compressed and concentrated in a sensitive Mind, till they waste and devour it, till they lead to Misanthropy, or perhaps to the more fatal Error of doubting the justice of Providence, because Man is unjust; of madly imagining that Christianity itself is a Fable, because those, who call themselves Christians, have acted—in pure Recklessness—as if they were Heathens."[1]

In the lecture from which this passage is taken, Dr. Hawtrey goes on to mention two cases, known to be those of Shelley and Sidney Walker, in which the harm "done by ill-used authority and ill-used strength" was especially enduring and painful. Shelley, "a stripling pale and lustrous-eyed," was equally indifferent to the work and the games of the School. He refused to fag; this of itself led to bullying and "Shelley-baits," in which he was frequently chased "up town." In his more peaceful hours he was addicted to quaint books and pursuits. He is said to have charged the handle of his door with electricity, which inflicted a

[1] *Sermons and Lectures* (privately printed, 1849), pp. 111-112.

shock on the Tutor who came to inquire into the noise caused by the machine.

"Strange were his studies, and his sports no less,
Full oft, beneath the blazing summer noon,
The sun's convergent rays with dire address,
He turned on some old tree, and burnt it soon
To ashes; oft at eve the fire balloon,
Inflated by his skill, would mount on high;
And when tempestuous clouds had veil'd the moon
And lightning rent and thunder shook the sky
He left his bed to gaze on Nature's revelry."[1]

The stump of a willow thus destroyed by Shelley stands at the northernmost point of South Meadow.

Walker was a studious lad of extraordinary memory, but in other respects not less eccentric than Shelley, nor less bullied. Yet he wrote of Eton as one of the

"Goshen spots
Aye bright with spiritual sunshine."[2]

Practical joking of a more harmless kind than that to which Shelley and Sidney Walker were exposed was rife in those days. Dr. Keate's peculiar costume was a temptation in itself. The Assistants had exchanged their cocked hats for trenchers about 1812, but Dr. Keate continued to wear what at Westminster was styled a "wind-cutter," until the end of his reign. His ordinary attire was the gown of a Doctor of Divinity worn over a black cassock. Mr. Kinglake describes the *tout ensemble* as "a fancy dress partly resembling the costume of Napoleon, partly that of a widow-woman."[3] It was not difficult to personate Dr. Keate, especially in the dusk, and a young nobleman

[1] Moultrie's Stanzas, in the Eton editon of *Gray's Poems*.

[2] Memoir by Moultrie prefixed to the *Poetical Works of W. S. Walker*. See also *Report of the Public Schools' Commission*, Eton Evidence, 3720.

[3] *Eöthen*, Chapter XVIII.

used to amuse himself by prowling about of an evening in a cocked hat and gown to the terror of other boys, who, like himself, had no business to be out. One night he took a pot of red paint and bedaubed the door of William Heath, one of the Assistant Masters, no one daring to interfere; and on another occasion he went so far as to call absence at one of the dames' houses. Every one was taken in except the captain of the house, who was in the secret, and the housemaid who, on recognizing him, gave him a quiet hint to go. Keate disliked being laughed at, and once bought up a whole tray of plaster casts of himself from an Italian in the street, quite forgetting that the mould remained for future use. One George Edwards, who gave the Government of George III. the first warning of the Cato Street Conspiracy, produced similar statuettes, to be the household gods, or oftener the targets of Etonians.[1] In 1816 some young officers took down a huge tin hat, which hung as a sign over the shop of Devereux, the Windsor hatter, and sent it in a box to Dr. Keate, with a note to the effect that the Prince Regent begged that he would appear in it on the following Election Monday. At the same time a note was sent to Devereux telling him that Dr. Keate admired the hat so much that he had taken it for his own use.[2]

The Eton boys generally came in for a fair share of any festivities that happened to take place at Windsor. Thus, on the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of George III., a special entertainment was provided for them, and again in June 1814 they were all invited to Frogmore to meet the men who had recently dictated

[1] Knight's *Passages of a Working Life*, vol. i. p. 228.

[2] MS. in the possession of G. F. Luttrell. Esq.

terms to the defeated Napoleon. The Prince Regent introduced his illustrious guests one by one to the assemblage of boys, saying that the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and he himself each intended to procure an extra holiday for the School. The boys cheered lustily, and everybody was delighted.[1] William Sidney Walker wrote to his friends :—

"I have shaken hands with the King of Prussia, and touched the flap of Blucher's coat. I shall have it engraved on my tombstone."[2]

Some time later Praed wrote :—

"It was a proud evening for Eton, but a troublesome one for those who made it so. The warmth of an English welcome is enough to overpower anyone but an Englishman. Platoff swore he was more pestered by the Etonians than he had ever been by the French, and the kind old Blucher had his hand so cordially wrung, that he was unable to lift his bottle for a week afterwards."

Blucher was not content with shaking hands, and he caught up some of the little boys in his arms and kissed them in true German fashion.

In the following year many Etonians fought bravely at Waterloo under the greatest of Etonian generals. Dr. Keate announced the glorious victory publicly in the Upper School, ending with a touching allusion to the death of Lord Hay and another young soldier who had been sitting on the benches before him a few months previously.[3] In 1820 many of the boys attended the funeral of their old patron and friend, George III.[4] His son and successor was never very popular at Eton, and at one time there was an idea of present-

[1] *The Etonian* (1824), vol. ii. pp. 72—73.

[2] *Poetical Works of W. S. Walker*, p. xxxi.

[3] *Bailey's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 74.

[4] *The Etonian* (1824), vol. iii. p. 73.

DR. GOODALL AND DR KEATE,
from Silhouettes by Aug. Edouart, A.D 1828.

ing an address of sympathy from the School to Queen Caroline, but it met with scant support,[1] and Praed thus relates what eventually took place :—

> On the night of the Coronation, when the mob said "Queen!" the Boys said "King!" and many, forthwith, risked their crowns on behalf of his Majesty's. But whether this proceeded from the love of Loyalty, or the love of Blows, must remain a question."[2]

William IV. was quite as partial to Eton as George III. had been, and used to make a point of attending the Speeches in Upper School on the 4th of June, or on Election Monday, year after year.[3] On the second of these visits, in 1832 to wit, he promised the reversion of the Provostship to Dr. Keate in a strange way. Pointing to Dr. Goodall he said, "When he goes I'll make you him." Dr. Keate was wisely silent, but the Provost, who was first a gentleman and then a courtier, said with one of his most gracious bows: "Sire, I could never think of *going* before your Majesty." Some years later he was asked whether he had really used these words, and he replied, "Yes, and I meant to show the King how rude he was."

Dr. Goodall was in many respects the model of what a Provost of Eton should be. He excelled in all the arts of hospitality.[4] He was tall and stately, and had a charming manner, dignified without pomposity, and joyous without levity. Up to the very last he continued to wear the costume of an ecclesiastical dignitary of the eighteenth century, the barber bringing a newly-dressed wig to the Lodge every morning and

[1] *The Etonian* (1824), vol. iii. p. 194.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 368.
[3] See the collection of *Eton Addresses.*
[4] Disraeli's *Coningsby*, Chapter xi.

taking away that worn on the previous day. A ripe classical scholar, he did not confine his reading to Latin and Greek, and at different times in his life he took up the study of botany, entomology, numismatics, modern languages, and of the antiquities and history of the great College over which he presided for upwards of thirty years. In 1816 we find him writing to his former pupil, Charles T. Metcalfe :—

"At fifty-six a man may be indulged with a hobby; and what nag do you imagine that I have mounted? Oriental literature I have disclaimed; Nimrod's propensities are not mine. To the black-lettered Bibliomaniacs I own no fellowship. My limbs are not supple enough to become an active lepidopterist. I adorn my garden and my green-house in moderation, but my rage is an accumulation of calcareous matter, generally known by the name of shells." [1]

In his sixty-first year he wrote to say that he was learning Hebrew and Spanish with some friends :—

"If you wish to know in what part of the school I am know by these presents that I am in the second form in Hebrew, and in the fourth in Spanish." [2]

His uniform courtesy to boys and masters alike made him very popular, and after his death a fund amounting to 2,000*l.* was raised for the purpose of erecting a statue of him in the Ante-Chapel.

Dr. Goodall's weak side was the persistence with which he clung to old abuses. Intensely conservative by nature, his dread of innovations increased with his years. The phrase which styled him "the Incarnation of Eton" was not intended to be complimentary. He was somewhat roughly dealt with on account of the non-observance of the Statutes, by a Com-

[1] Kaye's *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, vol. ii. pp. 456—457.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 459.

mittee of the House of Commons under Mr. Brougham in 1818, and on his return to Eton he is said to have destroyed the extracts he had made from the muniments, lest they should be found to tell unfavourably against existing practices. A few years before this the Kingsmen had made an attempt to compel the Fellows of Eton to resign their places on accepting livings, and the question was formally argued by lawyers before the Bishop of Lincoln as Visitor, one party relying on the Statutes of Henry VI., the other on the Dispensation of Elizabeth and the custom of more than two centuries. Judgment was given in favour of the Eton Fellows in 1815, the Bishop having as his Assessors Sir William Grant, Master of the Rolls, and Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell.[1]

After twenty-five years of hard work as Head-Master, Dr. Keate, in 1834, announced his intention of retiring to a country living. Shortly before his departure the boys presented him with three pieces of plate costing little less than 600*l.*, and for once he was fairly overcome; he was too much affected to return thanks, and gave vent to his feelings by taking off his cocked hat, the only time that that symbol of authority was ever known to be raised to any one. In spite of all his gruffness and flogging propensities, he was really loved and honoured, and he was warmly received whenever he visited Eton in subsequent years. He attended the Speeches in Upper School on Election Saturday, 1840, and drove up to Surly in the evening. No sooner was the well-known face of the ex-Head-Master seen looking down upon the Boats in Boveney Lock, than all the crews stood up and cheered with one accord.

[1] P. Williams's *Report of Proceedings*, &c.

1834–1852.

Appointment of Dr. Hawtrey — Educational Reform — Provost Hodgson—Improvement in the Condition of the Collegers —Sanatorium—The "Christopher"—Restoration of the Chapel —Mathematics—Modern Languages—Swimming.

DR. KEATE was not allowed to close his long administration without hearing some murmurs of discontent at the unsatisfactory system which he had found in force, and which he had retained almost unaltered for so many years. "The Edinburgh Review" was, we believe, the first to point out to the public the utter inadequacy of the school-books in use at Eton, and the very imperfect manner in which even those books were taught;[1] and though the subject was dropped for a while, amid the national excitement about Parliamentary Reform, it was taken up with renewed energy in 1834 by a host of pamphleteers.[2] Many extreme statements were made on both sides of the question, but an unprecedentedly rapid decline in

[1] Vol. lxi. pp. 65—80.
[2] *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii. pp. 128—175.

the number of boys on the School-list of that year showed pretty plainly that the vindicators of the old system had not been able to convince parents that all was as it should be.[1] The main hope for the future in the minds of all who had the real interests of Eton at heart lay in the fact that the senior Assistant, Mr. Edward Craven Hawtrey, who was appointed to succeed Dr. Keate as Head-Master, was known to be a scholar of liberal views as well as a refined and courteous gentleman.

The correspondent whose remarks on the state of education under Dr. Keate were given in the last chapter[2] continues thus :—

"If the affairs of mankind were transacted regularly, as young men often conceive they can be, our school, on the accession of a new ruler in 1834, must needs have altered much more than it did, in conformity with the maxims by that time established in England. Looking merely to what was going on at Cambridge, to the geometry of Whewell, to the algebra of Peacock, to the double studies even then required for the Classical Tripos, to the universal acknowledgment of the doctrine that mathematics were indispensable, to the fact that even Eton men studied mathematics at the university[3], it seems strange that Dr. Hawtrey, who was intimate with real scholars and philosophers, should not at once have made mathematics an integral and necessary part of the school-work. In a less degree it seems strange also that he should not have insisted on Greek and Latin being taught properly in school; that is to say, taught in a way that would have satisfied a Thirlwall or a Milman. Reform he did; and it has been deliberately said by one who loved Keate that it

[1] Dr. Keate found about 500 names on the list when he took office in 1809, and this was the average number for the next fourteen years. Between 1823 and 1833 the number rose from 510 to 627; yet in 1834 it fell to 486.

[2] Pages 364—367.

[3] Stapylton's *Eton School Lists* show the names of a considerable number of *double*-first class men.

was Hawtrey who more than any man left his mark on the School. His reform was important, although he founded neither a complete system of liberal education—adjusting the claims of the modern and of the ancient lore, of the humanities and the severe arts—nor a system of pure grammatical instruction that would duly prepare students for the philology of Oxford and Cambridge.

"Very soon after his appointment he wrote to his predecessor, submitting to him for critical examination a plan of school organization. Keate approved of it unreservedly, and, with that perfect freedom from egotism which was perhaps not known to the Eton world (for he was *multis pervulgatus, paucis notus*), made the modest remark that there was much in the plan that he would himself have wished to establish, had he been able. Now the question naturally arises, how could Keate have been unable to do what he thought expedient, unable to do what his successor, a man of weaker will, could effect? The answer to this question may be new to many who fancy that they know the School familiarly and intimately. There was a power above and behind the Head-Master—the power of the Provost. This power bent for a time before a new Head-Master. Even so lofty and fine a Provost as Goodall was obliged to abate his majesty for a season. There is in human nature, just as strongly as conservatism and inertia and jealousy are in it, a willingness to let a new broom sweep clean; unluckily the broom soon ceases to be new.

"Hawtrey began his administration by withdrawing from a position which Keate had held with extravagant vigour, the position of sole teacher for the Upper Division of the fifth form, besides the twenty boys of the sixth form. He ceased from that occupancy of the great *estrade* at the end of the Upper School, which implied personal supervision of the four Assistant-Masters teaching from the four smaller desks. From that fortress Keate had stormed at as many as 190 big boys, all supposed to be his listeners, of whom only a few wished, and perhaps still fewer were able, to profit by his sound and spirited teaching; to that awful presence had been summoned, for fifteen minutes' sharp inspection on every whole

schoolday, the many scores of fourth form boys, who were kept from making any very great noise by a sixth form præpostor, while Keate was busy with his division, and the four Assistants were looking over the exercises of fifth form boys summoned for that purpose from their construing lessons in the other class-rooms. Hawtrey used the Head-Master's desk as his tribune for a speech to the whole School or to the whole fifth form; he used it also as a place from which to set the

The Upper School

theme for the Upper Division and sixth form; but thus far only did he retain that combination which had given Keate an unwieldy class. He did not go through construing lessons in the Upper School: for them he retired into the adjoining room—the 'library'—where he found empty book-shelves, the block, and the birch-cupboard. This library he turned into his class-room for all purposes that required decorous silence.

"Leaving the sixth form in its old dimensions—ten Collegers and ten Oppidans—Hawtrey incorporated with it, for most practical purposes, the first six Collegers and the first six Oppidans of the fifth form, thus making up the 'Head-Master's Division' to thirty-two boys. He then divided the rest of the fifth form numerically among the four or five senior Assistants, making no distinction between them in their books; so that each of these Masters had a class of his own for a whole school-time, and was singly and solely entrusted with their lessons, both construing and saying by heart, and with their exercises after correction by tutors. This principle of assigning a certain set of boys to one teacher had in Keate's time been applied to the Remove only; by Hawtrey it was applied to the whole School. In 1833 every fourth form boy sent up for good had to get affixed to the document which was the symbol of that distinction the names of no less than five teachers; a fifth form boy might have been required to get three. After Hawtrey's change this number fell to two; the tutor's approval sanctioned the judgment of the division-master. This change did good, for it gave a teacher more control over the boys, and made it simpler for him to send in a report to the Head-Master at the end of every school-time.

"All the Assistants under Hawtrey were intended and supposed to work in separate class-rooms, except the fourth form Masters, who continued to use the Upper School. The retirement of the Head-Master from his great desk involved the surrender of an old principle—the superintendence of many teachers by one; and it was probably part of Hawtrey's deliberate policy, as it undoubtedly was in keeping with his character, to place an unusual amount of trust in his juniors, or, as he always called them, his 'colleagues.' After ten or twelve years, if not sooner, he perceived that the freedom conceded, whilst it increased zeal, diminished rigour. The severity of drill in the 'rules for the formation of tenses' was relaxed, and he took alarm; he made a vehement effort to restore the tyranny of the Eton Greek Grammar, but he could not force back into the old routine a set of young men who had somehow discovered that the formation of tenses

could be effected, like the formation of moods, without '*præponendo*' or '*elidendo*.' Finding that verbal discipline had been relaxed, he once undertook for six weeks the sole charge of 'library'—that is to say, the drill of fourth form recruits. It was a gallant struggle against what he considered degeneracy, but it was wholly ineffectual as a substitute for that constant personal examination of the boys which Keate had kept up. Human nature prevailed over the old faith. Eton scholars grew up to write Greek correctly, without being able to manufacture a '*paulo-post* future' either from the perfect passive or from the future active; and in due time even Hawtrey, the last hereditary champion of the Eton formula, acquiesced in the existence at Eton of Masters who could not go through the list of twenty-two kinds of verbs which govern a genitive. That this seemingly modern scholar should have been an earnest believer in the old books, which the real moderns laughed at, was an interesting anomaly; but it was not altogether good for the School that many of the teachers should without permission let drop a system which they dared not denounce before their ruler's face. It was an awkward and indecorous thing that his young colleagues, who had cast off the Eton yoke and learned true Greek at Cambridge from Shrewsbury men, should be charged with the training of boys by parents who expressly said that they knew Dr. Hawtrey to be an unsound scholar.[1] In the teaching of Greek, in a less degree of Latin

[1] In two ways the Head-Master was specially exposed to the criticism of the Provost and Fellows. He sent into the College to obtain a half-holiday in a regular week a boy's exercise (Latin or Greek verse) which was expected to be correct, and it was noticed by one Fellow that these exercises were less accurate under Hawtrey than they had been under Keate. He was bound to have eight Latin Declamations delivered every year in the presence of the College authorities, copies of which were given to them. These were learnt by heart and recited by the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Collegers, but they were for the most part written by Assistant-Masters who had to bring the MSS. to Hawtrey and to submit them to a minute though very courteous inspection for fear he should be chidden by his superiors for bad Latin. It is a proof, good as far as it goes, of progress in schooling, that these

also, Eton for many years presented the curious phenomenon of moderate anarchy. Fitful displays of energy on the part of conservative Assistants, such as the introduction of a few changes in the old accidence, the binding in one volume of the Eton accidence and the accurate but painful syntax composed by Mr. Wordsworth, of Winchester; the printing of one sheet of a new accidence devised by Hawtrey himself, in which he luxuriated in palæographical dissertations on the alphabet; the engrafting of Dr. Kennedy's elegant syntax on the reformed accidence, and attempts at private manuscript grammars, based on Kühner, for use at 'private business,' are some of the many signs of discord and confusion which troubled some honest men for a whole generation, and gave Hawtrey a taste of the pains endured by Popes and Primates in ages of transition or reformation.

"Meanwhile, in spite of his own precarious tenure of Attic scholarship, and the disloyalty of many of his colleagues to the old Eton traditions, year after year Hawtrey's beloved young men went to the Universities better read and better trained than their predecessors, even if not so well read or well trained as many representatives of less fashionable schools. To put the case broadly, he lived to see (if he had eyes to see it) whole tribes of Eton men seasoned with the accurate philology which he had never himself acquired—men who knew his defects, and were, notwithstanding, indebted to him, and consciously grateful to him for their better schooling. For although he had not improved the school-books materially, and had only unintentionally relaxed the grammatical discipline, he had made it possible for his Assistants to teach in a leisurely and tranquil manner. He practically added theme-writing to verse-writing as an exercise of some importance; he greatly improved 'trials' by the introduction of printed examination papers; he added new examinations

admirable *devoirs* were in later years performed mainly by the boys, giving less trouble to the Assistants. Declamations justly survived after most of the peculiar exercises and practices became obsolete, but it was generally forgotten that they constituted a sort of grand-serjeanty due from the Head-Master to the College.

from time to time; and, above all, he established a standard of attainment and a kernel of industry, in that part of the School which before his time was the least satisfactory—the King's Scholars or Collegers.

"To state the case in another way, for there are more ways than one of elucidating even so slight a thing as the history of schooling, Hawtrey may be said to have done by encouraging what Keate tried to do by threatening. If there is any truth in that melancholy caricature by which Keate is known to most men, if his battle-cry really was 'I'll flog you,' it is no less true, though it is by no means well known, that Hawtrey's characteristic utterance was 'Very well, very good exercise,' said with a gracious emphasis which never lost its charm. Keate's mission was to keep down mannishness and swagger; Hawtrey delighted to give boys the sweet pride of authorship.[1] Men have almost grown old who still feel thankful that they once lived with a man who, though quite at home in the most brilliant circles, did, as truly as Lacordaire, 'love young people.' When he was at the height of prosperity, he said publicly—'Living here I cannot feel the sadness of growing old, for this place supplies me with an unfailing succession of young friends.' Other men have been even more kind, more charitable, more tender; but he had a poetical enthusiasm which burnt through vanities and feeblenesses, and fell in light and warmth on shy boys, on proud and ungainly lads, on homely and ordinary teachers, not less than on brilliant and noble students.

"A school cannot be managed by sympathy with boys alone. It must now be shown how Dr. Hawtrey's singular generosity told on the government of Eton. He was better supplied with Assistants than Keate had been, though his field of choice was strictly limited to King's College. But when he had selected a man, there were two ways of dealing.

[1] He founded the English Essay, which at once took rank as a distinction of considerable importance. He used to read over the prize essay in the presence of the author, correcting the language a little. When re-written he had it nicely bound. They were generally long narratives, but there was often literary spirit in them, and the late Henry Fitzmaurice Hallam may be named as one of Hawtrey's young authors.

with him. One was the way of repression, the other was that of encouragement. Hawtrey adopted the latter. To a very young man he was as respectful as to a man of mature age, bearing with those crudities and eccentricities by which young men often estrange themselves from their superiors. Therefore his colleagues worked for him, though not in his own groove, as the Marquess Wellesley's young men had worked for him at Calcutta; nay, there were some among them who were to him what young warriors had been to King David and to Admiral Nelson.

"Besides this universal generosity bearing on all varieties of character, Dr. Hawtrey displayed a special liberality in dealing with that which of all things most shapes the character, religion. He was not a theologian, though he could deliver short sermons that were at once orthodox and eloquent. He could no more fathom the controversies of the age in which men were swayed by Newman or by Arnold, than he could take the measure of the new philosophies growing up by the side of the new theologies. Had he been suspicious, narrow-minded, or cold-hearted, he would certainly have quarrelled with three or four of the best of his Assistants in the first ten years of his government. As it was, he became the faithful friend and moderate supporter of several Anglo-Catholic colleagues. Had he set his authority against them, had he even let them be thwarted, more than they were thwarted, by the alarmed Protestantism of Eton College, he would have lost the services of men who could not be replaced. But it must be understood that nothing could be further from his mind than a cool calculation of such results. He obeyed his good heart; he knew by a heavenly instinct when he had a truly good man at his side; he was sagacious enough to perceive that certain tastes might lead to Rome, but he was not to be scared by such a danger; he stuck to his friend, he backed up his colleague, because he knew and cherished goodness.

"Such was the man; not an accurate scholar, though versed in many tongues; not thoroughly well informed, though he had spent thirty thousand pounds on books; not able to estimate correctly the intellectual development of younger

men, though he corresponded with the leaders of England and France; not qualified to train school-boys in competition with a Vaughan or a Kennedy possessing the advanced knowledge of a later generation, for he had never even been a University man, only a Kingsman; not one that could be said to organize well, for from first to last he dealt in make-shift and patchwork; yet, for all that, a hero among schoolmasters, for he was beyond his fellows candid, fearless, and bountiful; passionate in his indignation against cruelty, ardent in admiring all virtue and all show of genius; so forgiving, that for fifty years he seized every chance of doing kindness to a man who had tormented him at school; and so ingenuous, that when he had misunderstood a boy's character and then found himself wrong, he suddenly grasped his hand, and owned his error magnanimously. Many men have laughed at his rhetoric, and made themselves a reputation for wit by telling stories of his behaviour. Such men have probably never read the second part of *Don Quixote*. The knight was, after all, a true gentleman of fine mind, and his death was pathetic. Our Head-Master was worthy of a high-souled poetical nation in its best age; and old men who had been his compeers in society wept at his funeral with younger men who had been only his humble yoke-fellows."

Several of Dr. Hawtrey's reforms in the educational system of the School were effected during the first six years of his administration; but the real regeneration of Eton can scarcely be said to have begun before the death of Dr. Goodall in 1840,[1] the very year in which the 400th anniversary of the foundation ought to have been celebrated. The Provost, under whose auspices so many improvements moral and material were made, did not obtain his place without some difficulty. When the vacancy occurred, Lord Melbourne mentioned the Hon. William Herbert (an old Oppidan, and afterwards Dean of Manchester) as specially fitted by

[1] March 25, 1840.

his graceful scholarship to preside over the College; but when it was found that according to the Statutes the Provost must of necessity have been a member of one of the foundations of Henry VI., Mr. Herbert's name was withdrawn, and that of Archdeacon Hodgson substituted. It is strange that the Prime Minister, himself an old Etonian, should not have perceived that Mr. Hodgson was little better qualified than Mr. Herbert, not being either a Doctor or Bachelor in Divinity. The Fellows were not sorry to have an excuse for disobeying the royal mandate, as they were anxious to break the chain of precedents, and to obtain for themselves the same freedom as their brethren of King's College enjoyed. They accordingly declared that they could not wait for any further orders, and that they must forthwith proceed to election. Their field of choice was very small, the whole number of persons legally eligible at the moment being only eight. After sounding Dr. Keate and Dr. Hawtrey, and ascertaining that neither of them would allow his name to be brought forward, they found a consenting candidate in Mr. John Lonsdale, whom they elected Provost. In the meanwhile however the Queen had issued a mandate for the admission of Archdeacon Hodgson to the degree of B.D., and it became known that she, as well as her ministers, had espoused his cause with warmth. Mr. Lonsdale, we are told by his son-in-law, "would rather have been Provost of Eton than Archbishop of Canterbury," but he could not fail to see that his acceptance of the office would cause a breach in the intimate relations hitherto existing between the Court and the College, and he was, moreover, loth to disappoint an old friend; so, after some vacillation, he formally refused the Provostship. The

Fellows, though very sore at being thus unexpectedly deserted by their champion after they had fulfilled their part of the agreement, felt that further resistance to the Court was useless, and submitted on the receipt of a fresh *mandamus*. Mr. Lonsdale was soon afterwards appointed Bishop of Lichfield.[1]

The new Provost was well known in the political and literary world as the son-in-law of Lord Denman, as the translator of Juvenal into English verse, and as an intimate friend of Lord Byron.[2] He had been a Master at Eton for a few months in 1809, since which time he had dropped his connection with the School. He was therefore much surprised when one morning he received a letter from the Duke of Devonshire hailing him as Provost of Eton. On the next day, or the next but one, came another letter to tell him that difficulties had arisen, and that he was not to be Provost. But the difficulties as we have seen were surmounted, and he was duly elected May 5, 1840. He at once resigned his preferments, and gave himself up to his new duties. One of his chief reasons for accepting the Provostship was a wish to do something to better the condition of the Collegers, which, if it had altered at all, had altered for the worse, in the course of centuries during which the English people had steadily been growing more refined in their mode of living. The nominal number of boys on the foundation was 70, and for these four dormitories were provided. There was accommodation for 52 boys in Long Chamber—a room 172 feet long, 27 wide, and

[1] Denison's *Memoir of Bishop Lonsdale*, p. 34; Arnould's *Memoir of Lord Denman*, vol. ii. pp. 104, 105; *Report of Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 7877.

[2] See many interesting notices of Mr. Hodgson in Moore's *Life of Lord Byron*, and Arnould's *Memoir of Lord Denman*.

15 feet 6 inches high—and for the remaining 18 in Lower Chamber, and in Upper and Lower Carter's Chambers, two smaller rooms which took their name from a Lower-Master in the early part of the eighteenth century.[1] These rooms contained little besides the wooden beds, 4 feet 6 inches wide, and a series of bureaus. Chairs and tables did not exist except for the privileged few, and the wind whistled through the gaping casements. Candlesticks were made by folding a leaf torn out of a school-book, and cutting a hole in the middle of it to receive the candle.[2] A college servant was supposed to sweep the rooms daily, to make the beds, and in winter to light the fires; but this was all, and he did not sleep on the premises. In point of fact, the lower boys always had to make the beds of the sixteen seniors, viz.—the ten Collegers in the sixth form, and the six in the "Liberty," at the top of the Upper Division;[3] and also to fetch water for them overnight from the pump in Weston's Yard. They themselves, and members of the fifth form, had no chance of washing in College, for they had neither washstands nor basins. A deputation which waited on one of the authorities about the year 1838, with a request that a supply of water might be laid on in College, was dismissed with the rebuff, "You will be wanting gas and Turkey carpets next!" The Head-Master and Lower-Master, who in former days had respectively occupied rooms at the western and eastern ends of Long Chamber,[4] had long since moved into separate houses, where they could live in comfort with

[1] Until 1834, those scholars who had little studies used to pay 1*l.* 1*s.* apiece to the Lower Master as rent.

[2] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. C. Blake], p. 69.

[3] Creasy's *Historical Account of Eton College*, p. 22.

[4] Page 258.

their wives and families. From 9 P.M. until early school on the following morning the Collegers were left to do as they pleased, free from any sort of supervision. Of course, the little community had its own rules :—

> "To each his task
> Duly prescribed, as academic rank
> Defined his office ; some, the upper mess,
> (So named) above the rest pre-eminent,
> Brought from the neighbouring buttery meat and bread,
> With foaming cans of beer ; to some 'twas given
> To tend the nightly fire, and in their gowns
> (Ne'er meant for such base service) to bring home
> A ponderous load of coals, upon their backs
> Artistically piled ; some, clerkly wise,
> Noted on tablets fair with pen and ink
> The mandates of their lords, by one, who watch'd
> Outside our prison bars, to be conveyed
> Into the farthest town, and thence evoke
> Luxurious freightage of nocturnal cheer." [1]

The gates of the School Yard were never closed at night, and at 9.30 P.M. regularly, a hired messenger came to the window of Lower Chamber, bringing not only suppers from the boys' private rooms in Eton and from the Christopher, but also corrected exercises from the tutors. At one time there was a secret subterranean exit into Weston's Yard for the benefit of those who were too big to get out through the window of Lower Chamber.

The sixth form had immense powers, and the more limited authority of the fifth form was exercised by the older members of it on the younger whenever, as was usually the case, there was a scarcity of legitimate fags. New arrivals went by the name of "Jews," and had to

[1] Moultrie's *Dream of Life.*

submit to a terrible amount of bullying.[1] The custom of tossing them in blankets to the line—

"*Ibis ab excusso, missus ad astra, sago.*"[2]

was given up about the year 1832, in consequence of an accident which nearly proved fatal to the late Rowland Williams.

If the menial services enforced were incompatible with the position, and unfavourable to the training, of a gentleman, the want of privacy was quite as injurious to the moral feelings. A boy who passed unscathed the ordeal of a Colleger's life must have been gifted in no common degree with purity of mind and strength of will. We will not dwell longer on this painful topic. It is enough that in 1834 the writer of a pamphlet styled "The Eton System of Education Vindicated" was obliged to admit, that wherever the fame of Eton had spread, the name of Long Chamber was "a proverb and reproach."

The food which the College provided was in its way as bad as the accommodation. The dinner in the middle of the day invariably consisted of mutton, potatoes, bread and beer, with the addition of a pudding on Sundays. On Founder's-day the liberality of a royal patron supplied the unusual dainty of turkeys. The servants merely brought up the commons into Hall, and set them down on the table.[3] For those who got the first cuts the mutton was good enough, though dreadfully monotonous, but the younger boys

[1] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 1475, 4819, 5839.

[2] *Life of Rowland Williams*, vol. i. p. 7.

[3] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 194, 207, 4766, and Creasy's *Historical Account of Eton College*, pp. 22, 23.

fared badly.[1] A few hours later cold mutton was served up under the name of supper to the few who cared to come. The sixth form and Liberty supped in Long Chamber in the evening. The College did not provide any breakfast or tea. "In 1834," wrote a critic not untruly, "the inmates of a workhouse or a gaol are better fed and lodged than the scholars of Eton: the clothing supplied by the College is limited to a stuff gown."[2] As a matter of fact, almost every Colleger hired a room in the town, technically "out of bounds," and, as such, neither recognized nor visited by any Master, wherein to have his breakfast and tea, and to prepare his lessons. This, of course, added to a Colleger's expenses, which could never be reckoned at less than 80*l.* a year. Boys whose parents could not pay for a private room, "underwent privations that might have broken down a cabin-boy, and would be thought inhuman if inflicted on a galley-slave."[3]

The Fellows might speciously urge that the boys were treated as ordered in the Statutes; and that Henry VI. did not expect the Collegers to be taken from the upper classes of society. These apologists of old abuses had to adopt a different line of argument if pressed as to their own position and emoluments. Then they would catch at slight expressions in the Statutes, and plead that all inconvenient provisions were obsolete, but no candid person could fail to see

[1] A leg or shoulder went for eight, a loin for six, and a neck for four. Until 1874, three junior Collegers styled respectively Upper, Middle, and Lower Servitor, stood in a row at the top of the table to wait on the sixth form. The duty of the Middle Servitor was to hold up the sleeves of each sixth form boy as he came up in his turn to cut his meat.

[2] *Quarterly Journal of Education*, vol. viii. p. 279.

[3] Creasy's *Historical Account of Eton College*, p. 24.

that in course of time the rulers of the College had magnified their office at the expense of those whose interests it was their duty to protect.

The breach of the Statutes in the case of the Head-Master was the most glaring of all. Henry VI. had ordered that he should be a celibate, using one room as sitting-room and bedroom, that he should receive from the College only 16*l.* a year besides commons and small allowances, and that he should give gratuitous instruction not only to the Collegers but to the Commensals or Oppidans. In the first part of the nineteenth century we find the Head-Master free to marry, living in a luxurious private house, and enjoying an income equal to that of many a bishop, derived in part from the ill-used Collegers.

To have suggested any change to Dr. Goodall would have been worse than useless; though even in his day there were some Fellows who desired that justice should be done; it is remembered that in a speech on Founder's Day Mr. Bethell once said in a perfectly modest way, "I have always stood up for the statutable rights of the Scholars."[1] Mr. Hodgson was no sooner Provost than he began to take measures for bettering their condition. The disgrace of Long Chamber was already making itself felt, and on a visit of the King of Prussia in January, 1842, his request to be allowed to inspect the sleeping arrangements of the boys was refused, on the plea that that portion of the College was never shown to strangers. Previously, visitors, royal and others, had always been free to

[1] Mr. Bethell as a Fellow was always in favour of salutary reforms, but he had not been efficient as a Master. He was only once known to have interrupted a construing lesson by making a critical remark—"*Postes æratos*, 'brazen gates.' Yes; that is right; probably so called because they were made of brass."

ENTRANCE TO WESTON'S YARD.

see Long Chamber. The first improvement was in the fare, beef being introduced twice a week. Then the hour for supper was postponed to 8 P.M., and the character of the meal altered. A fund was soon afterwards raised for increasing the accommodation, by building a new wing on the site of the stables in Weston's Yard. Lord Lyttelton was chairman of a committee of which Mr. J. L. Dampier was the most active member. In 1844 the subscriptions had reached to nearly 14,000*l.*,[1] and in June of that year Prince Albert laid the foundation-stone. Separate rooms were provided for the first forty-nine Collegers, while the remaining twenty-one were left to occupy one-half of the old Long Chamber.

The new wing was completed in 1846. A proper staff of servants was engaged to do all the menial work under the eye of a matron; the building was warmed and supplied with water; and other conveniences, such as studies, lavatories, and a sick-room, were added. Breakfast and tea like that of the Oppidans was furnished to the Collegers, who from thenceforth ceased to hire rooms in the town and to pay the Dames for the right of being received into their houses when ill.

More important still was the decision that a Master should sleep under the same roof as the Collegers,

[1] Among others Her Majesty gave 500*l.*, the Queen Dowager, 100*l.*, Prince Albert, 100*l.*, Eton College, 2,000*l.*, the members of Eton College, 2,100*l.*, King's College, 500*l.*, the Duke of Northumberland, 1,200*l.*, Mr. Hallam, 200*l.*, Sir J. T. Coleridge, 100*l.*, Mr. Gladstone, 50*l.*, Lord Melbourne, 100*l.*, Bishop Sumner, 200*l.*, Dr. Keate, 100*l.*, the Duke of Buccleugh, 200*l.*, the Marquis Wellesley's promised donation of 200*l.* was lost by his death. Dr. Hawtrey handed over to the fund year after year the whole sum which he received from the Collegers, who at this time were obliged to pay 6*l.* a year to the Head-Master, in direct violation of the Statutes.

and maintain discipline among them. In the ordinary course of things an appointment of the kind, only worth about 200*l.* a year, might have been given to some young Master little accustomed to deal with boys. Everyone therefore doubly honoured the noble self-sacrifice of so experienced a teacher as Mr. Abraham in giving up an overflowing house to take the novel position of "Assistant-Master in College." To his personal influence we must in great measure ascribe the immense change in the moral tone of the King's Scholars. Without intruding on anyone, he walked about in the evening, and made the boys his friends; and without the display of any peremptory authority, helped to modify materially the system of fagging.

Hitherto the number of Collegers had always been short of seventy. They were admitted practically by nomination, for the entrance examinations to Eton as well as to King's were little more than a form. No thoughtful parent of moderate means would allow his son to encounter the rough treatment to which a lower boy was subjected in Long Chamber, and boys who wished to secure the rich prize of a scholarship at King's used to postpone putting on the cloth gown until a few days before they reached the maximum age allowed by the Statutes. Consequently almost all the Collegers were members either of the sixth or fifth form, and in some years there were not more than forty altogether on the list. At one election there were only two candidates, one of whom came up without the necessary certificate of baptism, and was unable to declare that he had ever been baptised. Provost Hodgson at once took him into the Election Hall, sent for a basin of water, and there and then ad-

ministered the sacrament, the two "Posers" standing as Godfathers. As soon as the scheme of improvements was made public, the number of Collegers began to increase rapidly, and in one year there were sixty candidates for a few vacancies.

With the division of Long Chamber disappeared not only the crying evils of physical discomfort and moral disorder, but also many customs interesting to the antiquary. The introduction of servants abrogated much of the elaborate code of unwritten law, which fixed the relations of master and fag, and the boys were relieved from the crushing weight of a traditional discipline, most hurtful to individual development. As long as it continued intact, Long Chamber was furbished up annually during the week before Election Saturday. Rugs were stripped from the beds of lower boys, and with a bolster or two were folded into a kind of sledge seat for an upper boy, who was dragged swiftly up and down by a team of others yoked to a rope. This peculiar process known as "rug-riding" was adopted in order to polish the oak floor, which at other times was begrimed with dirt. The green rugs given by the Duke of Cumberland were produced and spread on the beds, and boughs of beech, brought from Hedgerley and Burnham, were fastened round the windows, fireplaces, and beds. Lower School too was decorated with boughs—a custom dating at least from the time when this was the only schoolroom.[1] The seats of the Masters were made into bowers, popularity and its reverse being respectively marked by leafy boughs and dry sticks. A small room opening out of Long Chamber and supposed to be the Captain's study, was also cleaned up at election-

[1] *Reminiscences of an Etonian*, pp. 112, 113.

tide, and its empty shelves furnished with calf-bound books borrowed by the Captain from his Oppidan friends. Of course much of this was a miserable imposture, intended to conceal from strangers the real squalor and wretchedness of Long Chamber.

It was not the Collegers only who benefited by the erection of the New Buildings, for a spacious library was built in the tower for the use of all boys in and above Middle Division. Some books presented to the School by Dr. Rosewell in the 17th century were brought out from the cupboard in which they had lain ever since their removal from the "Library" at the end of Upper School. To these were added the Delphin Classics presented by George IV.—"the useless gift of a royal rake"—and the books belonging to the collection founded by Praed. Private persons came forward with donations of books, especially Dr. Hawtrey. Dr. Thackeray, Provost of King's, gave some cases of stuffed birds, and other donors added artistic and interesting objects, making the room a kind of museum. The Boys' Library, which is open to, and supported by a compulsory payment from all in and above Middle Division, has been justly praised as "the sanctuary of learning, and the refuge of quiet to many a boy for whom a public school would else afford small opportunity of satisfying a desire for knowledge beyond the mere routine of school life."[1]

Another great improvement was the foundation of a "Sanatorium" at a little distance from the College, on the Eton Wick Road, in which there was accommodation for twenty-four cases of infectious illness. It is strange that this building, which cost 6,000*l.*, was not erected by the College, nor even on the College lands.

[1] Coleridge's *Memoir of W. M. Praed*, vol. i. p. xxv.

The Head-Master made himself responsible to the builder for interest at 5 per cent. on the cost of the work, and money has since been raised by a yearly charge on every Oppidan of 1*l.* 4s. towards paying off the whole debt, and acquiring the property for the School.[1]

The general health of Eton was greatly improved in 1846 by the adoption of an excellent system of drainage, at a cost of little less than 4,000*l.* A constant stream of water was made to run through a large new sewer into the great sewer built by Henry VI., and thence into the Thames, which flows at the rate of about three miles an hour.[2] A new outlet was also provided for the pond under Baldwyn's Bridge.

> "Barne's-Pool, seduced by classic dreams,
> Courts Thames with subterranean streams;
> Forcing, Alpheus-like, its way,
> To screen its loves from eye of day."[3]

By exchange with the Crown, the College became possessed of some dirty tenements in Eton, which were forthwith pulled down, and replaced by substantial houses for the Masters. Among the houses thus acquired was the old Christopher Inn, situated opposite the Churchyard, in the midst of the boarding-houses.[4] The evils connected with it were in no way mitigated by the change of ownership, and Dr. Hawtrey urged upon the College that the lease should not be renewed. His request was refused on the score of the loss of income which would ensue if it were acted upon, for the landlord paid well. Before making a second crusade against the Christopher, Dr. Hawtrey

[1] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 1450—1474, 4780—4790.

[2] *Ibid.* 227—229.

[3] *Eton Bureau*, p. 7.

[4] See the cut on page 299.

resolved to ascertain the opinion of the Assistant-Masters on the subject, and accordingly summoned them to discuss it in "Chambers." Most of them took the same view as he did, but a few argued that it was desirable to keep some temptation ever before the boys, as a means of bracing their moral nature. At last one of the youngest of the number, a man of considerable energy, was heard to say, "Oh, the Devil will do that for you without your help." Thus fortified, the Head-Master wrote as follows to the Provost :—

"I should be guilty of a grave Dereliction of Duty, if I did not again in the most earnest Manner call the Attention of the College now assembled to the great Evil of the Christopher Inn ; and I should be more to blame because my own Opinion has now the almost unanimous Support of all who are united with me in the Government of the School. There was a Time when there were no good Inns in the Vicinity of the School at which Parents and Friends of Boys could be received; when the Houses of the Masters were small and inconvenient; when a Room was actually retained at the Christopher for the weekly Meetings (I believe I may add more than weekly Meetings) of the Assistants."

Dr. Hawtrey then proceeded to show how all this was changed. The opening of the railway enabled parents to visit their sons and return to town the same day ; the inns at Windsor had become better ; and few people now stayed at the Christopher except riotous parties of undergraduates, who exercised a most demoralizing influence on the School. Nine-tenths of the profits of the innkeeper were derived from the Eton boys who were in the habit of going there directly after dinner, and also of an evening on their way home from their tutors'. In connection with this last point he wrote :—

"I have long complained and long borne with this Evil. Every Vigilance is exercised to check it, but it is too much for me. It is really the only Mischief for which there is but one Remedy. That Remedy rests with yourself and the Fellows.

"I do therefore most earnestly appeal to you in the Name of those who are laboriously occupied with myself in preserving as well as we can the Discipline of the School, in the Name of several hundred Parents who have strongly expressed to me the same Opinions to which I have now given Words, in the Name of more than the usual Number of Boys, who will heartily thank you in After-Life for thus consulting their best Interests not to return in the centre of us as a source of undeniable Evil without any countervailing Good. Your Opinion, I know, wholly coincides with mine. . . . . I have not hitherto proposed any Change, which, when consented to, has been found to fail. . . . . Every Year's increasing experience has convinced me that this Change is more and more called for, and that the Delay will each succeeding Year be more pernicious to the School: a Site for a new Chapel of Ease is sought for, and the Building of so great an addition to the Spiritual Comfort of the Town is delayed while the Site is still to be found. Why not displace for a holier Purpose a notorious School of Self-Indulgence and Intemperance? . . . Here is a glorious opportunity of turning unmixed Evil into unmixed Good. . . . . My heart is deeply interested in what I have written, and I could not leave one Stone unturned to gain so great an Advantage to the School."[1]

This letter sealed the fate of the Christopher, the landlord received notice to quit, the time-honoured sign-board was taken down, and the greater part of the house was let to one of the Masters. Little now remains to show the original purpose of the building save the balustraded galleries on two sides of the court-yard, and the stables at the end of it.

During Mr. Hodgson's tenure of the Provostship the dreary appearance of the interior of Upper School

[1] MS. Correspondence of Provost Hodgson. December 1, 1845.

was greatly relieved by the addition of a series of marble busts of eminent Etonians—some of them presented by the individuals themselves, and some by their descendants or admirers. The Marquis Wellesley gave his own bust to the College in 1840, and his example was followed by his illustrious brother shortly afterwards.[1] About the same time a picturesque lodge designed by Mr. Shaw was put up at the end of the Long Walk for the use of the Head-Master's servant, who had hitherto occupied one of the rooms under the Upper School.

Amid all these changes, the most prominent building at Eton was not neglected. The great religious revival which emanated from Oxford in 1833 had given an impulse to church-building and church-restoration unprecedented since the middle ages, and many old Etonians had turned their attention to Gothic architecture as a subject worthy of study. The first complaint of the unsightly condition of the interior of the Collegiate Church came from one of the most eminent members of the High Church party, Sir J. T. Coleridge, in a letter written to Provost Hodgson in September, 1840. The main object of the letter was to recommend that the whole School should in future be summoned to a daily service at 7 or 7.30 A.M. in lieu of the services hitherto held on such holidays and half-holidays as were not marked as holydays or the eves of holydays in the Church Calendar; but he also

[1] The other busts of Etonians, put up from time to time, are those of Bishop Pearson, Dr. Hammond, Lord Camden, Lord Chatham, Lord North (all by Behnes), Lord Grey (by Campbell), Lord Grenville (by Nollekens), Walpole, Fielding, Gray, Porson, Fox, Lord Howe, Lord Denman, and Hallam. At the south end are busts of George III. (by Wood), William IV. (by Chantrey), and of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort.

took the opportunity of denouncing the internal fittings of the building as wasteful of space, ugly, and in every way objectionable.[1] It must be remembered that in those days the sixth form and the young noblemen, or "nobs" as they were called, used to occupy raised seats of honour ranged along the walls;[2] that there was a great box near the east end for the male servants of the College, and another for the female servants; that many of the parishioners sat in the choir; and that all the old stonework up to a considerable height was hidden by wood panelling.

The process by which the interior underwent a complete transformation was gradual. The first improvement was simple enough, and consisted in removing the pompous reredos which concealed the east end. A new altar, altar-rails, and pulpit, of carved stone, and Gothic in design, were next provided.

In 1844 a subscription was set on foot among the boys for the purpose of substituting stained glass for the plain quarries in the great east window, and the work was entrusted to Mr. Willement, the leading man of his profession. Different portions of it were executed and put up as the money came in, but the whole was not completed until 1849. It was considered the greatest work of the kind that had been executed for many generations, and was certainly very costly. Unfortunately the art of painting on glass had only been revived of late, and the general effect of the

[1] MS. Correspondence of Provost Hodgson.

[2] It was the custom for each new occupant of these stalls to celebrate his admission to them, by distributing among his neighbours small packets of almonds and rasins which were eaten in church.

window is most unsatisfactory. The gigantic figures of the twelve Apostles in the side lights are heavy and out of character with the building, while the subjects of the Crucifixion and Ascension which occupy the three central lights are theatrical in treatment and garish in colour. The eastermost windows on either side of the choir were treated by Mr. Willement in a similar style, that on the north side being paid for by the Assistant-Masters, and that on the south side by Mr. W. A. Carter.[1]

While these windows were in course of execution, it was resolved to restore the interior of the Church in accordance with the style of architecture which prevailed in England in the fifteenth century. For this purpose a limited number of architects were invited to send in designs. The competitors were Messrs. Buckler, Butterfield, Elmslie, Derrick, and Deeson. The judges, Messrs. Shaw, Ferrey, and Nesfield, unanimously agreed in awarding the palm to Mr. Deeson.[2] For some time there was an idea of vaulting the whole building with stone, as contemplated by Henry VI. Some of the authorities however took alarm, and expressed their conviction that the weight of such a roof would imperil the safety of the whole structure, forgetful, or more likely unaware, of the fact that the buttresses of the Collegiate Church are the most powerful in England, except those of the sister College at Cambridge. The idea was accordingly given up, and nothing was done to the roof beyond removing the paint and plaster, and adding some poor cusping to the old woodwork. The pretentious Grecian organ-loft which had

[1] Each of these windows cost no less than 800*l.*, the east window over 2,000*l.*

[2] *The Builder*, July 7 and 26, 1845.

INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL.

hitherto blocked up the west window of the choir was pulled down, and Mr. E. Coleridge at once undertook to have the window filled with stained glass. A proposal to place the organ in Lupton's Chapel was happily negatived,[1] and a new organ was purchased at a cost of 800 guineas, and after some experiments placed half-way up the choir on the south side.

All the old pannelling and seats were cleared away in 1847, when it was discovered that the walls of the five western bays on both sides were covered with paintings up to the string-courses under the windows.[2] Some of them had been injured by the affixing of memorial tablets to the wall in the 17th century, and others by the erection of a staircase leading to the organ-loft, but enough remained to render the discovery the most important of the kind that has been made in England during the present century. Unfortunately the number of persons who appreciated the merit of the paintings was small, and when it had once been ascertained that the subjects were derived from superstitious legends, so little attention was paid to them, that the clerk of the works took it for granted that they were to be obliterated, and gave orders to that effect. One of the Fellows came in while the work of destruction was going on and immediately put a stop to it, but not before the upper row of figures had almost entirely disappeared. The Provost was quite willing that the remainder should be preserved as historical curiosities, for the benefit of a future generation, but considering them unfit to be seen in a building dedicated to the use of the Church of

[1] *The Builder*, October 4, 1845.

[2] See pages 87, 94, 138, 167, and 284.

England, he insisted that they should once more be covered over. Prince Albert, whose Protestantism was quite as unimpeachable as Mr. Hodgson's, entreated in vain that by some mechanical contrivance, such as hinges or sliding panels, it might still be possible for lovers of art to examine the paintings at will, without any danger to the religious principles of the ordinary congregation. A suggestion of transferring the paintings from the walls to canvas, proved impracticable on account of the great cost it would entail. Now we can only judge of these paintings from two or three sets of drawings which were made while the wood-work which conceals them was in course of construction. Twenty oak stalls with carved canopies were erected on the old site, many of them being given to the Church as memorials of Etonians, living and deceased, and bearing their names and coats of arms on brass tablets. The whole choir was fitted up with oak seats, an altar, altar-rail, and pulpit of the same material being also substituted for the comparatively new works in stone, which had been universally condemned as heavy and cold in appearance. The pulpit was tried first in one place, and then in another, and was finally fixed near the door leading into the northern vestibule. The old brass lectern, after being taken into use for a time, was again relegated to the ante-chapel. The checked pavement of black and white marble was taken up and stone flags were laid all over the floor of the Church, except within the altar-rails, where tiles of special design were used.

The Provost in his intense dread of Romanism refused his consent to a scheme for decorating the east end elaborately, and would only allow the Ten Com-

mandments and the Beatitudes to be painted there, in a style befitting the walls of a village school. The ante-chapel was the last part of the building that was set in hand. Of course all this could not be done out of the ordinary income of the College, and a subscription was raised, to which Mr. Wilder, one of the Fellows, contributed the munificent sum of 5,000*l.* A new font was given in 1850 by the Collegers, as a tribute of regard for Mr. C. J. Abraham, who had done so much for them. While the Church was undergoing restoration, the boys attended service in a temporary building erected for the purpose in a field near Barne's Pool. In 1846 a new cemetery, with a neat chapel, was opened on the Eton Wick Road.

Such were the material improvements carried out at Eton between 1840 and 1852. Many alterations in the studies and discipline of the School were made during the same time. Dr. Hawtrey had, as we have already seen, induced Dr. Goodall to allow some important reforms in these respects, but more remained to be done. The pleasure with which he had hailed the appointment of Mr. Hodgson in 1840 was therefore enhanced by his receipt of a letter from the Provost suggesting certain administrative changes. He at once replied :—

"I am delighted to find that in almost every Point which your Letter touches upon we entirely agree. In many I have already anticipated your views; in some I have been restrained as yet from doing so only by the Veto of superior Authority. . . . . Whatever be done, I know we have the same object; and I have no doubt of our discussing these deeply interesting Matters in a Spirit which will lead to co-operative Reform." [1]

The friendly relations between Mr. Hodgson and Dr. Hawtrey continued undisturbed until the death of

[1] MS. Correspondence of Provost Hodgson.

the former, although questions arose from time to time on which there was a difference of opinion between them. Sometimes, as in the case of the abolition of "Montem" and of "bounds," the Provost was more zealous for reform than the Head-Master; at other times, like a good constitutional King, he gave his indispensable assent to measures which he would not himself have proposed. On one point only is Mr. Hodgson known to have stood in the way of a real reform, and that was with regard to the appointment of Assistant-Masters. It had for a long time been customary for all the Masters to be Kingsmen. The evils of this system have been thus pointed out by Sir John T. Coleridge:—

"Boys were nominated to college in the first instance by the electors, in the exercise of simple patronage; and when elected, they maintained their places and order of succession through the School without any consideration of relative—even of absolute merit, ability, or application. They succeeded to King's College in the same way, the electors on both occasions going through the solemn farce of a free election, and having been sworn to an honest, impartial, and strict performance of their duty as electors. When the lads were thus floated to King's, they came to a college locally in the University, but scarcely of it in any true sense. It had no independent members; its undergraduates took no part in the exercises or examinations of the University; very few of its honours were open to them; they mixed very little with the members of other colleges; and in their own, they only found their old, and generally speaking unimproved schoolfellows living under the laxest discipline. From young men sometimes only in their third year, and thus unpromisingly trained, the Head and Lower Master of Eton, with whom the selection practically rests, each for his own School, exclusively appointed their Assistants."[1]

[1] *Lecture delivered at the Tiverton Athenæum*, 1860.

Another writer justly describes the system as a "*circulus vitiosus.*"[1] Since the failure of an attempt, in the days of Dr. Heath, to secure a situation as Assistant-Master for an old Oppidan—Henry Vincent Bayley—only two Masters had been appointed who were not Kingsmen, and both of them had been Collegers. Dr. Hawtrey wished to go further than this, and with some difficulty obtained Mr. Hodgson's permission to engage as Assistant-Masters two old Etonians, who had not been educated on the foundation of either of the Colleges of Henry VI. Both the young men in question had taken the highest honours at Oxford; one of them has since made his mark on the political literature of our age; the other is now an eminent member of the Society of Jesus; so that Dr. Hawtrey's favourable opinion of their abilities was not unwarranted. Mr. Goldwin Smith and Mr. Henry Coleridge would have been for a time at least secured for Eton, for they both accepted the invitation, if the Provost had not withdrawn his sanction at the last moment, falling back on his old argument that the places of the Masters at Eton formed part of the *peculium* of the Kingsmen. In this view he was warmly supported by several of the Fellows, one of whom wrote to say that the appointment of an Oppidan as Master would, if allowed, prove to be the first step towards the admission of Oppidans to the new buildings in Weston's Yard.[2]

Although it is impossible to endorse Mr. Hodgson's opinion in this matter, it is equally impossible to doubt his integrity of purpose. With him all personal considerations were lost in the earnest desire to promote

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. li. p. 67.

[2] MS. Correspondence of Provost Hodgson.

the welfare of Eton. No Provost has ever more thoroughly realized the duties and responsibilities attaching to his high office, and the manifold improvements in the condition of school and town alike effected during his administration testify abundantly to his energy and prudence. By his tact and courtesy he conciliated all who came in contact with him, and even those who were most opposed to him on public questions could not but acknowledge his exceeding gentleness and goodness of heart.

In 1841 the Provost gladly accepted Prince Albert's noble offer of founding annual prizes for modern languages, open to the whole School, an offer doubtless due in part to the suggestion of Dr. Hawtrey, who was as conversant with French, German, and Italian, as with Latin and Greek. Permanent evidence of Dr. Hawtrey's refined tastes may be found in his privately-printed book "*Il Trifoglio;*" and those who were under him at Eton remember his readiness in illustrating passages in the ordinary school-books by quotations from modern writers of other countries. In this respect the contrast between him and his predecessor was very striking. Keate's system of teaching was calculated to promote accurate scholarship, Hawtrey's to promote mental culture. Nevertheless scholarship in the stricter sense of the word, was not neglected under Dr. Hawtrey; and measures were taken to raise the standard of proficiency among the Collegers. Hitherto the entrance examination for the foundation had been an empty form, every candidate knowing beforehand the exact passages which he would be called upon to translate. There was but one instance of a break-down on record, and it was that of a boy who proved unable to decline the word

bonus.[1] Under Provost Hodgson and Dr. Hawtrey the examination was made a reality. The admission to King's moreover was no longer allowed to depend on mere seniority, and, as a further safeguard against idleness, an "Intermediate Examination" was made compulsory on all Collegers in their seventeenth year.[2]

An important step in the direction of an educational reform which affected the whole School was taken in 1839 or 1840. To quote the words of the Royal Commissioners:—

"Before the year 1836 there appears to have been no mathematical teaching of any kind at Eton. There was a titular teacher of writing, arithmetic, and mathematics, who had been originally styled teacher of writing and arithmetic only. 'I have heard it reported,' says Mr. S. Hawtrey, 'that he went away for a little while, and came back as mathematical master.' He does not appear, however, after this accession of dignity, to have taught, or been competent to teach, anything but writing and arithmetic, and he was an old man when Mr. Hawtrey came to Eton. Mr. Hawtrey, who had lately graduated as eleventh wrangler at Cambridge, received permission to give mathematical instruction as an extra to those boys whose parents wished them to learn; but 'in order not to trench on the interests of Mr. Hexter,' the only boys permitted to learn of Mr. Hawtrey were those in the Head Master's division, which contained about 30, or any others who had obtained a certificate from Mr. Hexter that they had attended his class and were competent to attend Mr. Hawtrey's. . . . . This arrangement did not prove satisfactory, ... and after about three years Mr. Hawtrey was allowed by the authorities of the College to disembarrass himself and the school of Mr. Hexter, by undertaking to pay him a pension of 200*l*. a year."

[1] *Report of Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 1228—1241, 8889—8895, 8972.

[2] *Ibid.* 8897—8898, 8965—8970, 8654—8692.

Mr. Stephen Hawtrey thus became free to take mathematical pupils from any part of the School, and obtained a position analogous to that of the Drawing-Master and the Fencing-Master. He built a Mathematical School at considerable expense on a piece of ground on the road to South Meadow, leased to him by the College, and by degrees he engaged several Assistants.

"In 1851 mathematics were for the first time incorporated into the regular work of the School, and Mr. Hawtrey was made Mathematical Assistant Master, which placed him on the same level as the Classical Assistants. His own Assistants, however, did not share his elevation; they became, or remained, only 'Assistants in the Mathematical School'; . . . they had not a share, as every Assistant Master has, in the right and duty of maintaining discipline out of school; they were not allowed to wear the academical dress, and could not send in complaints to the Head Master, unless previously signed by Mr. Hawtrey." [1]

The restriction on the use of caps and gowns was removed soon after the death of Provost Hodgson, but in other respects this anomalous state of things continued unaltered until quite recently.

When mathematics were made compulsory, it was arranged that, in regular weeks, Tuesday should be a half-holiday instead of a holiday as heretofore. A few years before this a rule had been made that those sons of noblemen who brought private tutors with them to Eton, should not thereby be exempted from the necessity of frequenting the pupil-room of some Assistant-Master, at the same hours and under the same conditions as their school-fellows.

Dr. E. C. Hawtrey had, while still an Assistant

[1] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, vol. i. p. 81.

Master, done something to improve the manner in which geography was taught in the lower part of the School, but he did not prosecute his reforms in this direction after his promotion to the Head Mastership. The rule that every boy in the Remove should once a week draw, or fill up, a map of part of the ancient world, was at least as old as the middle of the eighteenth century, and was good enough in theory, but in practice it was absurd.[1] Boys who did not know the locality of St. Petersburg or Washington, were expected to give the names of modern villages occupying the sites of towns of the classical world, and week after week Dr. Hawtrey flogged boys for not knowing such places as Ramadan Oglu or Kissovo.[2] Nevertheless there was much less flogging altogether under Dr. Hawtrey than there had been under Dr. Keate.

It is indeed recorded that on one occasion Dr. Hawtrey flogged all the boarders at a dame's house, a feat which might seem to rival his predecessor's performance on a whole division of the School, but on closer enquiry we found that the house held only twelve boys. Their offence was a boating expedition in summer before early school; but this would have been forgiven by their dame if they had not invaded the privacy of her sitting-room in order to make their exit through the unbarred window.

On the morning of the 13th of May 1836, the day after a boat-race against Westminster, an unusually

[1] Boys were free to decorate the margins of their maps with flags, figures, &c. There is a story of a boy having drawn a picture of an eight-oar on the Mediterranean, manned by the Masters and steered by Dr. Keate, and lest there should be any mistake as to their identity, he inscribed under the boat, "*Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat æquor.*"

[2] See an amusing *Vale* by J. H Arkwright (privately printed).

large number of boys were sent up to the Library to be flogged, but lo, block and birches had alike disappeared! Dr. Hawtrey was very indignant, and the whole truth came out before long. A trio of old Etonians, Lord Waterford, Lord Alford, and Mr. J. H. Jesse, had been giving a dinner at the Christopher to a party of boys after the boat-race, and had resolved to do something out of the way in the evening before driving back to town. They accordingly effected an entrance into Upper School by removing a panel of one of the great doors at the south end, and then made for the Library, "that scene of terror and punishment, where, as if in mockery of the culprits below, have been affixed the figures of festive maidens and triumphant heroes."[1] The door was closed and proved too strong to be forced from without, but the window near it was open. Lord Waterford and Mr. Jesse got out, and at some peril to their lives crept along the narrow ledge over the colonnade, and so climbed in at the next window, leaving their companion to cover their retreat. Once in the Library, it was a comparatively easy matter for them to open the door, to carry off the familiar instruments of torture, and to place them in the drag which was waiting for them. The block was conveyed to London, and for a time formed the official seat of the President of the "Eton Block Club," a club for which no one was eligible who had not been flogged three times at school. Two snuff-boxes were made of the wood, with silver mountings, and sent, one to the Provost and the other to the Head-Master. The block is now at Curraghmore. Soon after this one of the same trio, encouraged by the success of the es-

[1] *Eton Bureau.*

capade, carried off the sceptre from the statue of Henry VI. in the middle of the School Yard. This was very differently viewed by the boys, who were indignant at the insult to the memory of the Founder, as well as sorry for the injury to a work of art. The sceptre was soon afterwards returned in a box anonymously.

Dr. Hawtrey [1]

There was a boy at Eton about forty years ago, who could simulate Dr. Hawtrey to perfection. One night there was a grand masquerade in Long Chamber, and the Head Master found it necessary to go there in order to put an end to the uproar; but the Collegers had so often been taken in that they only

[1] From an original drawing taken in school by Herbert Heries, now in the possession of J. H. Patteson, Esq.

shouted "That won't do, Money. We know *you* well enough!" and it was several minutes before they realized their mistake.

In the early part of his administration, Dr. Hawtrey had a great deal of trouble year after year on the 5th of November and following days, when the boys used to indulge in fireworks on a small scale, throwing lighted Greek Grammars about in the School Yard, and letting off squibs behind the Masters as they came into 5 o'clock school. The gentle measures by which he generally managed to rule the School proved unavailing at these times, and at last he felt himself obliged to expel two boys who had assisted in making a bonfire on the Brocas, an act of severity on his part which was much criticized in London, and somewhat marred his early success. However, he lived down all temporary unpopularity, and boys and parents alike came to recognize the nobleness of his character. In his second year the number of names on the School-list was only 444, but in the course of the next ten years he raised it gradually up to the unprecedented total of 777, an achievement of which he was justly proud.

The relations between Masters and boys became more satisfactory as some of the old fictions were given up. One consequence of the ridiculous system by which the authorities ignored boating was, that boys who had no idea of swimming daily risked their lives on the river, and that casualties were not unfrequent. One specially sad case was that of young Angerstein, who was drowned in 1820, near Surly Hall, under the very eyes of his companions, who did not know how to rescue him. In the month of May, 1840, directly after Charles F. Montagu had been drowned close to

Windsor Bridge, Mr. G. A. Selwyn, a private tutor at Eton, now Bishop of Lichfield,[1] and Mr. Evans, the Drawing-Master, made an energetic remonstrance against the policy which had been pursued from time immemorial. At their suggestion boating was formally recognized as a legitimate amusement, and a stringent rule was made to the effect that no boy should be allowed to set foot in a boat who had not passed an examination in swimming. Bathing-places were made at "Athens," Upper Hope, and Cuckoo Weir, and watermen were engaged to give lessons in swimming, and to watch the river. Thenceforth it was impossible for boys to carry guns or forbidden luxuries in their boats, as they had often done before. The Collegers, who had hitherto kept their boats at a wharf in the Playing Fields, and had been in the habit of rowing to Datchet and the "Bells of Ouseley" were put on the same footing as the Oppidans, and forbidden to go below Romney Lock without special leave.

The boat-race against Westminster, to which allusion has already been made, was rowed at Staines in the middle of the summer half of 1836, and was won by the Etonians in spite of a false start and several intentional "fouls."[2] An immense number of boys had come over in every describable and indescribable vehicle that could be procured, and they drove back through Windsor "holloaing and hurrahing all the way like mad fellows." On their return they found themselves more than half-an-hour late for "absence," and were greeted with the news that they must all

[1] Bishop Selwyn was enthusiastic about rowing, and considered the Thames almost a sacred stream. Being one day in a punt with an Eton Master who spat into the water, he exclaimed: "If you must spit, why don't you spit into the punt?"

[2] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*, p. 12.

answer to their names at one o'clock, in the middle of their playtime, for the next week.[1]

In the following year the Westminster crew came in first at Datchet, to the great mortification of William IV., who had been watching the contest with keen interest; he instantly pulled up his carriage window and drove home. There was to have been a race between the rival eights at Putney in 1838, during the Eton holidays, but at the last moment the Westminster authorities managed to detain the boys who were to have rowed. Westminster won at Putney in July 1842, 1845, and 1846; Eton won in 1843 and 1847.[2]

The formal recognition accorded to boating in 1840, was afterwards extended to the unpretending game of "fives," hitherto played exclusively in the School Yard between the buttresses of the Church. At the instigation of Mr. E. H. Pickering and Mr. J. G. Mountain, Dr. Hawtrey laid the foundation-stone of some regular Fives' Courts in Trotman's Garden, on the Eton Wick Road in 1840, and declared the site to be within "bounds." As soon as the ceremony was over the Lower Master unexpectedly stepped forward and delivered a Latin oration, which proved to be an elaborate piece of banter on the Head-Master's ignorance of athletic sports. Hockey, though forbidden, was often played in Dr. Hawtrey's time in a field near the new Sanatorium. The peculiar variety of the game of football, which could only be played in a narrow strip of ground adjoining "the wall" of Fifteen Arch Bridge was very popular, especially among the Collegers. Quoits, tops, and marbles, had disappeared in Dr. Keate's days. Cricket matches were played at Lord's

[1] *Life of Rowland Williams*, vol. i. p. 26.

[2] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*, passim.

every year, in the first week of the summer holidays, against Harrow and against Winchester.[1] The tyran-

Fellows' Pond and Sheep Bridge.

nical system by which lower boys were made to fag at cricket was abolished in 1839 or 1840, and with it neces-

[1] Lillywhite's *Public School Matches*. Eton won the matches against Harrow in 1835, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, and 1850; and against Winchester in 1834, 1835, 1836, 1839, 1841, 1842, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850.

sarily perished the kindly rule that if a fifth form boy chose to stand by a fag, and succeeded in "catching out" the batsman, he could claim immunity for the fag. The Lower Shooting Fields were greatly improved a few years later, by the demolition of a wharf and house which occupied most of the space between the "sixth form bench" and the old oak tree. We hear of no private poaching expeditions since the establishment of the "Eton College Hunt," which keeps a pack of beagles by subscription; nor has there been any abuse of the Duke of Buccleuch's kindness in allowing Eton boys to walk freely through his preserves at Ditton, ever since 1845.

Shortly before the demolition of Mrs. Hatton's house, the Eton Society changed its quarters to a room in the yard of the old Christopher Inn, and by this change it lost the doubtful advantages resulting from its proximity to the eating-house.[1] There were several performances of amateur theatricals during Dr. Hawtrey's time, but the young actors aspired to little beyond farces and burlesques. The magazines of this period were the "Eton Classical Casket," the "Eton Bureau," and the "Eton School Magazine."

In 1841 the boys had an extra week's holiday in honour of the 400th anniversary of the foundation of the College—erroneously supposed to have taken place in 1441[2]—and there was a greater gathering than

[1] See a Parody on Byron's *Maid of Athens* in the *Eton School Magazine*, pp. 155, 156.

[2] It is difficult to account for the misconception prevalent with respect to so simple a matter. The Charter of Foundation is dated October 11, in the nineteenth year of the reign of Henry VI., which was certainly October 11, 1440. Yet the Royal Commissioners of 1861, the authors of the *Annals of Windsor*, and even the author of *Etoniana*, give the date of the Charter 1441; and this latter year is quoted in most books as the date of the foundation. Again, it has often been

usual at the annual dinner of old Etonians in London. The Marquis Wellesley was invited to preside, but he excused himself on the score of his great age, and Lord Denman took the chair instead.[1] Seven years previously William IV. had presented to the College a large silver-gilt model of the Chapel, to serve as an ornament at these dinners and on other festive occasions.[2]

William IV. was very popular at Eton. In one of the best of the annual addresses delivered before him in Upper School, George Smythe, the hero of Mr. Disraeli's "Coningsby," greeted the King with genuine enthusiasm :—

> "Thou (like thy Sire) on us art pleased to bend
> The gracious looks of Patron—Father—Friend,
> Till in thy cheering smile consoled we see
> Another George—our loved—our lost, in thee."

The Queen, too, received her due meed of praise :—

> "Inspired by thee, oh, long may England's fair
> Look to the throne, and find example there;
> And copying thee, and thus resistless made,
> Still reign o'er subject hearts like Adelaide." [3]

In May 1834, the King invited all the boys to witness the launching of a miniature frigate at Virginia Water; and when he returned to Windsor the next year, after an absence of some months, about four hundred of them went up to the Long Walk to meet him, and ran along beside his carriage up to the Castle, cheering all

stated that the foundation stone of the Church was laid on the 3rd of July, 1441, simply because the *Building Accounts* begin on that day. Thus the date assigned to the laying of the foundation stone is purely conjectural, while that commonly assigned to the foundation of the College is distinctly wrong.

[1] Arnould's *Memoir of Lord Denman*, vol. ii. pp. 127—129.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine.*

[3] *Eton Addresses.*

the way.[1] His last appearance in public was at the Eton and Westminster boat-race of 1837, already noticed.[2] On the day of his death not a wicket was pitched in the Playing Fields, not a boat went up the river.

The grandest illuminations ever known at Eton were those which took place on the occasion of the marriage of Queen Victoria in February, 1840. A huge structure, hung with upwards of 5,000 lamps, was erected in the wide space opposite the entrance of Weston's Yard, but by a strange incongruity the form selected was that of a Grecian portico. The School Yard and the western front of the Upper School were also brilliantly lighted up in the evening.[3] The King of Prussia visited the College in 1842, and remarked on the fact that its foundation was as nearly as possible coeval with the invention of movable types in printing. Perhaps it was on this account that he presented to the Eton Library one of the two sumptuous copies of the "*Niebelungen*," which were printed on vellum in honour of the fourth centenary of Gutenburg, the other copy being reserved for the Library at Berlin.[4] Louis Philippe also came to Eton when he was in England in 1844, accompanied by the Queen and Prince Albert.[5] The Duke of Wellington, who was in attendance on the royal party, happened to lag behind in the School Yard, and received an unexpected ovation, masters and boys alike cheering the great

[1] *Life of Rowland Williams*, vol. i. pp. 12, 19.

[2] Page 444.

[3] Grey's *Early Years of the Prince Consort*, p. 465; Yonge's *Life of Bishop Patteson*, vol. i. p. 23.

[4] One hundred copies were printed on paper.

[5] A French account of Eton written in connection with this visit is preserved as a literary curiosity on account of its numerous errors in Knight's *Pictorial Half-hours*, vol. iv. p. 127.

Etonian warrior with all their might.[1] Two years previously the Duke's elder brother had been buried with great pomp in the Collegiate Church.[2] During a long and eventful life the Marquis Wellesley had retained the warmest love for the scene of his early triumphs, and a short time before his death he had caused six "Willows of Babylon" to be planted by the waterside in the Playing Fields. It was by his own express desire that he was buried at Eton, and he composed the following beautiful lines for his epitaph:—

"*Fortunæ rerumque vagis exercitus undis,*
In gremium redeo serus, Etona, tuum.
Magna sequi, et summæ minari culmina famæ,
Et purum antiquæ lucis adire jubar,
Auspice te didici puer, atque in limine vitæ
Ingenuas veræ laudis amare vias.
Si qua meum vitæ decursu gloria nomen
Auxerit, aut si quis nobilitarit honos,
Muneris, Alma, tui est. Altrix da terra sepulchrum,
Supremam lacrymam da memoremque mei."[2]

These lines have been translated into English verse more than once, the most graceful rendering of them being that given by another eminent Etonian, who, like the Marquis Wellesley, was at once a scholar and a statesman, the late Earl of Derby:—

"Long tost on Fortune's waves, I come to rest,
Eton, once more on thy maternal breast.
On loftiest deeds to fix the aspiring gaze,
To seek the purer lights of ancient days,
To love the simple paths of manly truth,—
These were thy lessons to my opening youth.
If on my later life some glory shine,
Some honours grace my name, the meed is thine.
My boyhood's nurse, my aged dust receive,
And one last tear of kind remembrance give!"

[1] Yonge's *Life of Bishop Patteson*, vol. i. pp. 43—44.

[2] *Annual Register*, vol. lxxxiv. pp. 159, 160, 518.

Changed as is the School in many respects since these lines were written, it still inspires the same feelings of loyalty and affection in the hearts of all those who have had the happiness of being educated within its walls.

The Long Walk.

ETON MONTEM.

1561–1847.

LITTLE more than thirty years have elapsed since the last celebration of the famous "Montem," and many old Etonians still mourn over its departed glories. A ceremony so ancient and so singular has naturally attracted the notice of curious antiquaries, but their speculations as to its origin and meaning are more ingenious than convincing. The most popular theory seeks to connect the "Captain of Montem" with the proscribed Boy-Bishop, the Salt-bearers with the Deacons, and the banner with the pastoral-staff,[1] though it is certain that in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, the procession of Etonians *ad montem* took place a full month later than the day on which, in the reign of Henry VIII., the Boy-Bishop used to be stripped of his dignities. William Malim makes separate mention of the two anniversaries in his

[1] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 338.

Consuetudinarium.[1] The following is a translation of what he says about the peculiar observances at Salt Hill :—

"About the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, at nine o'clock on a day chosen by the Master, the boys go to the Hill, just as they go to gather nuts in September. The devotion of Etonians gives a kind of sanctity to the spot; on account of the beauty of the country, the pleasantness of the greensward, the coolness of the shade, the sweet harmony of the birds;[2] they dedicate the retreat to Apollo and the Muses, they celebrate it in song, call it Tempe, and extol it above Helicon. Here the novices, or freshmen, who have not yet served manfully and stoutly for a whole year in the Etonian ranks, standing up bravely to the lash, are first sprinkled with salt, and then admirably described in little poems seasoned with all the wit (*salem*) and humour that can be mustered. Then they make epigrams on the new boys, vying with one another in smoothness and wit. They may say whatever comes uppermost, provided it be in Latin, courteously expressed, and free from offensive buffoonery. Finally they bedew their faces with salt tears, and then at last are initiated into the rites of veterans. Ovations follow and little triumphs, and the novices rejoice in good earnest that their toils are over, and that they are adopted into the fellowship of such lively comrades. When all is over the boys return at five o'clock,[3] and after supper play until eight."

This is the earliest account of Montem, and in it we find at least four of the same features as characterized the ceremony in the present century, viz : the procession to Salt Hill (a small mound near Slough), the affectation of military discipline,[4] the exaction of some

[1] See Chapter VIII.

[2] "*Canorum avium concentum*," omitted in the printed versions.

[3] "*Ad horam quintam*," not "*ad horam primam*," as given in the printed versions.

[4] This is not so clear in our English translation as in the Latin, where we find several words and phrases derived from terms used in Roman warfare, as—"*ad verbera steterunt*," "*in acie Etonensi*,"

sort of tribute from freshmen, and a constant allusion to salt.

From the remotest ages, salt has borne a mystic sense, and without entering upon the history of its symbolism, it may be remarked that in the middle ages, salt was used in baptism, the sacrament by which candidates were admitted into the privileges of the Christian Church. Hence, probably the origin of its use in the rites by which novices were admitted into the privileges of Eton freemasonry.[1] We have no means of ascertaining the exact date at which these rites were discontinued, but in the first half of the eighteenth century real salt was still employed at Eton Montem, a pinch of it being presented to all strangers who gave money towards the expenses of the day. It has been very ingeniously suggested that this was intended to symbolize the admission, for the time being, to the festivities, of those who had duly paid their footing.[2] However this may be, it seems clear that when the more business-like plan was adopted of giving tickets rather than salt in exchange for contributions, the money thus received was in its turn called salt, or in other words that the traditional cry, "Salt, Salt," of the young tax-gatherers, which in modern times meant "Give us salt (money)," was originally intended to mean, "We will give you salt in exchange for your money." Huggett thus describes the practice of his own day, a hundred years ago:—

"Two of the scholars called Salt-bearers, dressed in white, with a handkerchief of salt in their hands, and attended each

"*veterani*," "*ovationes et parvi triumphi*."

[1] See Appendix C, on Rites of Initiation at Eton.

[2] *Etoniana*, p. 151.

with some sturdy young fellow hired for the occasion, go round the College and through the town, and from thence up into the high road, and offering salt to all, but scarce leaving it to their choice whether they will give or not; money they will have, if possible, and that even from servants."

That the claim of a right to enforce payment was of long standing is shown by the audacity of the Salt-bearers in stopping the carriage of William III., to the great surprise of the Dutch Guards, who took them for highwaymen and would have cut them down if the King had not interfered.[1] There is a still more emphatic statement of the claim in a Magazine published in 1712:—

> "When Boys at *Eton* once a Year
> In Military Pomp appear,
> He who just trembled at the Rod,
> Treads it a *Heroe*, talks a *God*,
> And in an Instant can create
> A *Dozen Officers* of State.
> His little Legion All assail,
> Arrest without Release, or Bail;
> Each passing Traveller must halt,
> Must pay the *Tax*, and eat the *Salt*.
> You don't love *Salt* you say—and storm—
> Look o' these *Staves*, Sir—and *conform*."[2]

Montem is here mentioned as an annual festival, and as such it continued until 1758, after which date it was held less frequently. In 1775 a definite rule was made, that so notorious an interruption of the ordinary school work should only be tolerated once in three years, and this rule continued in force until the total abolition of Montem in 1847. In Malim's time

[1] The authority for this statement is a tradition in the Hawtrey family, which has seldom been without a representative at Eton for upwards of two centuries.

[2] *The Tunbridge Miscellany*, 1712, p. 29.

the Head-Master was free to select the most convenient day at the end of January for the procession to Salt Hill, but in the first half of the eighteenth

"Salt. Salt!"[1]

century it always took place on the first Tuesday in Hilary Term, *i.e.* the first Tuesday after the 23rd of January. In 1758 and on all subsequent

[1] Adapted from a plate in *Sketches of Eton and Oxford.*

occasions it was held on Whitsun Tuesday.[1] This was a great improvement in every way, for in some former years it had been necessary to cut a road through deep snow *ad montem*, and of course the chance of rain was much less in May or June than in January. The alteration was noticed in a "sent up" copy of verses written at the time by Benjamin Heath, the Captain of the School :—

"*Lætior æstivo tempore pompa nitet.*"[2]

Two years later another writer expressed himself yet more clearly :—

"*Antehac brumali sonuerunt sidere nimbi,*
Sæpe tuum texit cana pruina jugum,
Sæpe nives clausere viam, vel turbidus imber,
Aut vanam irati spem rapuere Noti.
Nunc levis aura favet, nunc formosissimus annus,
Surgit et e gremio fertilis herba tuo."[3]

The glories of Salt Hill have often been extolled in Latin, for on the day preceding the observance of Montem, the senior Colleger had to present to the Head-Master a copy of verses, *Pro more et monte*, which may be looked upon as the quasi-feudal service by the performance of which, he, as Captain of the School, enjoyed the right of being "Captain of Montem." To attain this office has been the highest ambition of many a Colleger, partly on account of the honour conferred by it, partly on account of the pecuniary advantages resulting from it.[4] Yet the appointment depended on the merest chance. It might at first

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4839, f 85.

[2] *Musæ Etonenses* (1799), vol. i. p. 60.

[3] Verses by D. Stevenson in a MS. book belonging to Sir Willoughby Jones, Bart.

[4] As far back as 1730 we find William Cooke writing :—
"*Aureus ut spero Mons erit ille mihi.*"
Musæ Etonenses, vol. ii. p. 114.

sight appear that the rule by which the senior Colleger became "Captain of Montem" was simple enough, but it sometimes happened that the boy who stood first on the School-list at the beginning of the summer half, lost his claim through no fault of his own; for in the event of a death or resignation among the seventy members of King's College, he was certain to be summoned to repair to Cambridge at once, to fill the vacant place. A grace of twenty days only was allowed, and if it expired on the very eve of Montem Day, the right of being Captain lapsed to the Colleger who had been second on the list. Thus the two persons most interested in the matter were kept in suspense until the close of the twentieth day before Whitsun Tuesday.[1] On the night of the critical day all the Collegers sat up later than usual in Long Chamber, awaiting the possible arrival of a messenger from Cambridge. Just before midnight they all took up their appointed places. Some raised the ends of their beds high in the air; others stood by the heavy wooden shutters; and as the clock in Lupton's Tower gave out the last stroke, they slammed the shutters, and dropped the beds on the floor with a crash that could be heard in distant Windsor. There was a deafening shout of "Montem sure!" The right of being "Captain of Montem" vested absolutely in the senior Colleger, and feasting and revelry were prolonged into the small hours of the morning.[2]

From that time forward the boys occupied themselves in making preparations for Montem, such as ordering and trying on the gorgeous clothes in which they were to appear. The "tasting-dinners" given at

[1] The first and second Collegers often arranged at Easter that whichever of them became Captain of Montem should pay 50*l.* to the other.

[2] *Etoniana*, p. 153.

Salt Hill by the Captain to the sixth form were a very objectionable part of the system in the present century. On the eventful day, the twelve boys whose duty it was to assist the Salt-bearers by collecting money on the different high roads in the County of Buckingham, started at dawn, some on foot, and some in gigs, for their respective stations.[1] These twelve Servitors, or "Runners," as they were commonly styled, were Collegers in the sixth form, or in Upper Division, exercising the same powers as the Salt-bearers, and like them, wearing fancy costumes. They carried satin money-bags and painted staves with mush-room-shaped tops on which were inscribed Latin or Greek quotations, such as "*Parcentes ego dexteras odi*," and "Ἐξ ἁλὸς ἄγρα." As receipts for the money begged or exacted from everybody they met, they gave little printed tickets bearing the date of the year and an explanatory motto—"*Mos pro lege*" and "*Pro more et monte*," being used at alternate celebrations of the festival. Each of them was accompanied by a hired attendant, who was not unfrequently armed with pistols to protect the "salt" from real highwaymen. Rowland Williams, who was one of the Runners on the 9th of June, 1835, wrote shortly afterwards: "We were saluted by beggars on Montem Day as brothers of the profession." He worked at Colnbrook from 7 A.M. to noon, but only gathered 7*l.*[2] The two Salt-bearers—viz., a sixth form Colleger, and the Captain of the Oppidans, collected money in and near Eton, and obtained

[1] Two Runners were generally posted at Maidenhead Bridge, two at Windsor Bridge, two at Datchet Bridge, two at Colnbrook, one at Iver, one at Gerard's Cross, one at Slough, and one at Salt Hill. They generally breakfasted at country houses in the neighbourhood, such as Dropmore.

[2] *Life of Rowland Williams*, vol. i. pp. 20—21.

liberal contributions from members of the royal family. George III. and Queen Charlotte always gave fifty guineas apiece, and in later times there have been single gifts of double that sum. The total amount collected on the day varied from 450*l.* to 1,250*l.*, the average at the last few Montems being

A Salt-bearer. [1]

about 1,000*l.* All the money collected was given to the Captain to help him in his university career; but the expenses of the day, most of which devolved on him, were so great that only a very small proportion of the whole sum found its way into his pocket. In addition to heavy bills for entertainments at Salt Hill and at

[1] From a drawing by S. H. Grimm in the British Museum.

Eton, he had to pay the Salt-bearers, Runners, and other officials for the trouble they had taken on his behalf; and there were a number of minor items which diminished the profits.

The programme of Montem Day varied slightly on different occasions, but the main incidents were always the same in recent times. The Captain gave a great breakfast in Hall to the members of the sixth and fifth forms, after which, absence was called in the School Yard. All the boys wore gala dresses, and held a titular rank corresponding to their position in school. The senior King's Scholar, as has already been mentioned, was Captain, and the next six King's Scholars arranged among themselves which of them should act as College Salt-bearer, Marshal, Ensign, Lieutenant, Sergeant-Major, and Steward. The remaining three King's Scholars in the sixth form were either Sergeants or Runners. The Captain of the Oppidans was always a Salt-bearer, and the next to him on the School-list was Colonel. The other Oppidans in the sixth form ranked as Sergeants, and all the Oppidans in the fifth form as Corporals. All those who bore military titles figured in red tail-coats, white trousers, cocked hats and feathers, and regimental boots, with the distinctive details of uniform denoting the rank they adopted. The Steward wore the ordinary full dress of the period. The lower boys and most of the fifth form Collegers (who by a curious anomaly occupied a lower rank than Oppidans of the same standing in school) wore blue coats with brass buttons, white waistcoats and trousers, silk stockings, and pumps,[1]

[1] In 1841, a rule was made that the Collegers should wear the uniform of lieutenants in the Royal Navy. *Berkshire Chronicle*, May 8, 1841.

and carried thin white poles, from which they derived the name of Polemen. In the early part of the eighteenth century the boys had been in the habit of hiring theatrical dresses from *costumiers* in London, and it was in Dr. Barnard's time that a rule was made by which only the two Salt-bearers, the twelve Runners, and a limited number of "Servants," were allowed to indulge their own tastes and vagaries in the matter. These Servants were Oppidans in the Remove or fourth form, selected from such as could afford a costly dress and were likely to look well in it, to wait on the principal officers and to follow them in the procession.

As soon as absence had been called, the boys fell into their appointed order, and marched twice round the School Yard, and thence into Weston's Yard, where the Ensign waved the great emblazoned flag, a feat requiring many previous rehearsals.[1] Then the Corporals drew their swords, and cut the staves of the Polemen asunder. After this they all proceeded through the Playing Fields to Salt Hill in a long line, accompanied by two or three regimental bands.[2] Thither also went the numerous visitors who had come from all parts of England to witness what has been aptly called a "Protestant Carnival."[3] George III. was present at almost every celebration

[1] In and after 1832, the procession went three times round the School Yard, the flag being waved there instead of in Weston's Yard.

[2] The order of procession was generally as follows:—Marshal followed by six Servants, Band, Captain followed by eight Servants, Sergeant-Major followed by two Servants, twelve Sergeants, two and two, each followed by a Servant, Colonel followed by six Servants and four Polemen, Corporals, two and two, followed by two Polemen apiece, second Band, Ensign followed by six Servants and four Polemen, Corporals, two and two, followed by one or two Polemen apiece, Lieutenant followed by four Servants, [Salt-bearers, Servitors], Steward followed by a Poleman.

[3] Disraeli's *Coningsby*, chap. xi.

of Eton Montem during the brighter years of his long reign; sometimes, as in 1778, driving Queen Charlotte in an unpretending chaise;[1] sometimes, as in 1796 and 1799, riding on horseback, and personally marshalling the crowd. The Duke of Cumberland was one of the royal party in 1799, and rode about with so little formality, that nobody could have guessed his exalted station; and a boy named Beckett actually said to him, "I should recommend you, my friend, not to let your horse tread upon *me*."[2] George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria, have all graced the Eton triennial festival with their presence.

On arriving at Salt Hill, the Ensign waved the flag for the second time at the top of the Mount, and with this the ceremony ended at each of the last twenty-two celebrations of Montem. In earlier times one of the Collegers was dressed to represent a Parson, and another to represent a Clerk, and immediately after the waving of the flag they used to gabble some mock prayers in Latin. They were of course restricted to black clothes, but even these admitted of considerable variety; and on some occasions the Parson caused a great deal of amusement by appearing in the antiquated clerical costume of a past generation, or in that of a high dignitary of the Church, with cassock and bands, bushy wig and broad beaver, amusement which reached its height when, according to immemorial custom, he proceeded to kick the Clerk from the top of the hill to the bottom.[3] Queen Charlotte was so much shocked at witnessing this performance in 1778, that at her request it was never repeated, and the Parson and Clerk disappeared from the Montem pro-

[1] Brand's *Popular Ant.*, vol. i. p. 20, and Hone's *Year Book*.
[2] *Annual Register*, vol. xxxviii. [3] *Etoniana*, p. 147.

GEORGE III. AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE AT ETON MONTEM, A.D. 1778.
from an Indian ink Drawing by S. H. Grimm in the British Museum.

cession, being relegated to Long Chamber, where, on "Montem-sure-night," the Clerk, the most dirty and disagreeable lower boy, was made to stand up on one shoulder of the fireplace, and was pelted with bread or anything else, harder or softer, that came to hand.[1]

Absence was called at Salt Hill in the middle of the day, after which the royal party usually returned to Windsor, and the visitors and boys adjourned to the two local inns—the Windmill and the Castle—to dine. In Huggett's time, a little more than a century ago, the Head-Master entertained the Assistant Masters and his own friends, and the Captain gave a dinner (cooked in the College kitchen) to the fifth and sixth forms, and to any lower boys who chose to pay 10*s.* 6*d.* for it, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for salt-money. It was then customary for every boy to pay at least a shilling for salt; and a special tax called "recent-money" was also levied on all who had not completed their first year at Eton.[2] In later times these payments were no longer made, and the entertainments at Salt Hill proved a source of great expense to the Captain, especially when there was an unusual breakage of plates and glasses. After dinner a general promenade took place in the gardens of the inns, and if the Captain happened to be unpopular much injury was done to the shrubs and flowers for the express purpose of swelling the landlord's bill against him.

> "The boys along the garden strayed,
> With short curved dirk high brandished
> Smote off the towering onion's head
> And made e'en doughty cabbage feel
> The vengeance of their polished steel."

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[1] *Montem Lists*, 1773—1832. *Sloane MS*, 4839, f. 85. See Appendix C, on Rites of Initiation at Eton.

Later in the afternoon the procession returned in the order in which it had come. When Dr. Barnard was Provost, the Captain, accompanied by the young noblemen, used to call on him with the request that the next day should be a holiday for the whole School.[1] In the present century the day before Montem and the day after it were holidays, the latter being styled "Montem-rest Day." Windsor Terrace presented an animated scene in the evening, the boys in their fantastic costumes mingling with the crowd of visitors. The members of the fifth form used to wear their red coats until the end of the summer half, and were in consequence nick-named "Lobsters."[2]

No account of Montem-day would be complete without some notice of the "Ode," which was composed for the occasion, and which, irrespectively of its merits, or rather demerits, always had a large sale among visitors and Etonians. It was a broad-side of doggrel punning rhymes, giving the names of the chief personages in the procession, and alluding to their individual characteristics. It professed to be written by a worthy styled the "Montem-Poet," but in reality it was the production of some youthful wags in the School. The office of Montem-Poet was held through-

[1] MS. Diary of Dr. Jonathan Davies. This MS. contains notices of several Montems. 1775. "Doors opened quarter before six, absence in the yard half an hour after 10. Master calls on the Lower Master at breakfast and to see the company. The uppermost Colleger of the not accepted calls absence at the hill at three o'clock . . . . come to absence at sixe. The Captain missed an exercise for his *Pro more et monte*, but it ought not to be so."—1778. "Montem as before, except that the Captain Hayes had more musick than usual, which is not to be a precedent."—1784. "The Captain's company at the supper too noisy and riotous—to be ordered to break up at 8 and by ¼ after."

[2] *The Cockneys at Montem*, by W. M. Stone, in the *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxv. and *Etoniana*.

out the reign of Dr. Keate by Herbert Stockhore of Windsor, an eccentric individual who had begun life as a bricklayer. Arrayed in a tunic and trousers of patchwork, an old military coat, and a chintz-covered conical head-dress, with rows of fringe on it like the crowns on a Papal tiara, he drove about in a donkey-cart, reciting his Ode, and flourishing copies of it in the air to attract the attention of possible customers.[1] After his death, there was a contest for the vacant office, and a certain Edward Irving was elected, the boys recording their votes as they came out of Chapel one afternoon.

Montem was a unique institution, and as such was exposed to much criticism; it had many opponents and many supporters. Among the latter was the writer of the following stanzas:—

"Farewell to thee Montem! They say 'tis the last;
But I will not believe it till three years are past,
And then if I find that dear Montem is gone
I'll go to Salt Hill, and keep Montem alone.

"I will not believe it, the gay and the wise
In defence of dear Montem indignant shall rise,
The voice of old Eton shall sound in the Hall,
And the Provosts shall start from their frames on the wall.

. . . . . .

"Farewell to thee Montem! return in three years
With crowdings and crushings, with flutters and fears,
Barouches and bonnets, swords, sashes, and salt,
And let them pay double who still will find fault." [2]

The same sentiment is expressed in an article in "Knight's Quarterly Magazine":—

"I love that no-meaning of Montem. I love to be asked for 'Salt' by a pretty boy in silk stockings and satin doublet,

[1] *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 69—71, 75—77.

[2] *Farewell to Montem*, by Wm. Selwyn, 1832.

though the custom has been called 'something between begging and robbing.' I love the apologetical '*mos pro lege*' which defies the police and the Mendicity Society. I love the absurdity of a Captain taking precedence of a Marshal, and a Marshal bearing a gilt *bâton*, at an angle of forty-five degrees from his right hip; and an Ensign flourishing a flag with the grace of a tight-rope dancer; and Sergeants paged by fair-skinned Indians and beardless Turks; and Corporals in sashes and gorgets, guarded by innocent Polemen in blue jackets and white trousers. I love the mixture of real and mock dignity; the Provost in his cassock, clearing the way for the Duchess of Leinster to see the Ensign make his bow; or the Head-Master gravely dispensing his leave till nine to Counts of the Holy Roman Empire, and Grand Signiors. I love the crush in the cloisters and the mob on the Mount. I love the clatter of carriages and the plunging of horsemen. I love the universal gaiety, from the peer who smiles and sighs that he is no longer an Eton boy, to the country-girl who marvels that such little gentlemen have cocked hats and real swords. Give me a Montem with all its tom-foolery—I had almost said before a coronation—and even without the aids of a Perigord-pie and a bottle of claret at the Windmill."[1]

This was the bright side of Montem. An unfriendly critic might paint it in very different colours. Whether he stigmatized the manner in which salt-money was obtained as highly objectionable, whether he described the procession to Salt Hill as an absurd pageant only to be mentioned in the same breath with the Lord Mayor's Show, whether he deplored the neglect of the ordinary studies of the School during Montem half, or whether he denounced the temptations to extravagance and to actual vice created by Montem, he might fairly say that there was urgent need of radical reform in the matter. Provost Hodgson was one of those who

[1] *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i. pp. 197—198.

A SCENE IN THE SCHOOLYARD.

thought that no amount of reform would suffice, but knowing as he did how sincerely many old Etonians were attached to Montem, he did not care to start any controversy on the subject until he could be sure of the moral support of the authorities in School and College, and without making any secret of his own opinions, he waited for what he knew must come sooner or later. Dr. Hawtrey and the Assistants were aware of the bad moral influence of Montem, and when the Bishop of Lincoln proposed to hold a Confirmation at Eton in the summer of a Montem half, he was told plainly that it would not do for him to come then.

The opening of the Great Western Railway had the effect of bringing down a promiscuous horde of sight-seers to the Montem of 1841. The disadvantages of such publicity were felt by all, and steps were taken to counteract them as much as possible. It was arranged that the procession of 1844 should start an hour later than usual, that refreshments should be provided in a tent at Salt Hill, and that the boys should be forbidden to set foot inside either the inns or the gardens. They were required to return to the Playing Fields in time to answer to their names at half-past three o'clock absence, and the dinners, which strangers could only be allowed to witness under certain restrictions, were held on "Fellows' Eyot" at four o'clock. But these precautions did not suffice to remedy the greater evils of Montem, and in October 1846 Mr. Hodgson received a letter from Dr. Hawtrey suggesting the total abolition of the festival, and inclosing a letter from Mr. Okes, the Lower Master, to the same effect. Feeling as he did on the matter, he responded cordially to this overture, and a few days later Dr. Hawtrey wrote again as follows :—

"I am heartily glad that you have not changed your Opinion as I have mine about Montem. My Secession from its Supporters must, I think, go for Something; for it is ἔκων ἀεκοντί γε θυμῷ that I avow my Wish for its abolition. No one, I believe, has wasted more Money and spent more Time than myself in trying to remove its Evils, and even now, conscientiously persuaded as I am that those Evils are incorrigible, and that with them no custom could or ought to be tolerated, I feel so strongly the manifold Benefits of the *grand Eton Meeting*, that I sacrifice my Weakness, as Brutus did his Sons, *eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium*. I do hope at the same Time, that something may be thought of as a Substitute in the way of an Eton Meeting."

The Provost considered that according to the Statutes he had full authority to settle the question, but as a matter of courtesy, he took the Fellows into his counsel, and ascertained that three of them shared his opinion, while the remaining four only desired to see a reform of abuses. The Assistant Masters, who were also consulted, though less directly, turned the scale, nine of them being in favour of total abolition, five in favour of a reform of abuses, and one only in favour of the existing system. Perhaps the most curious defence of Montem was that set up by an intensely Protestant Fellow, who, having somehow got an idea that the triennial procession to Salt Hill had taken the place of a pilgrimage to a shrine of the Virgin, desired that the ceremonies happily freed from superstition, should be retained as a symbol of the Reformation and a standing protest against Popery.

There was a personage, more important than any Fellow or Master, whose wishes had to be consulted before any change could be made. The waving of the flag had generally been witnessed by some member

of the royal family; and the Queen and Prince Albert had attended Eton Montem in 1841 and 1844. Provost Hodgson felt himself in duty bound to ascertain the wishes of the sovereign, and proceeded to lay the facts of the case before her. He received a reply to the effect that the Queen and the Prince would like to see the abuses attendant upon Montem removed, but that they felt very reluctant to consent to the total abolition of so ancient a custom. This would have been sufficient to discourage any one who was not acting from a sense of duty, but Provost Hodgson was too much in earnest to yield without trying the effect of a more forcible statement of his views. He accordingly answered that with all due deference to those to whom he owed so much both as a loyal subject and as Provost of Eton, he could not but think that the abuses alluded to were inevitable so long as Montem continued to be observed, and he forwarded the letters he had received on the subject from Dr. Hawtrey and Mr. Okes. After this the Queen referred the matter to her constitutional adviser, and on the 7th of January, 1847, Lord John Russell wrote to say that the opinion of the outside world appeared to coincide with that of the Provost, and that her Majesty, though very unwilling to sanction by any direct act of her own the abolition of a custom so popular in the School, would not interpose to prevent any decision which the Eton authorities might form from their own experience and judgment. The Provost thereupon decreed that there should be no future celebration of Montem, and communicated his decision to those who were most likely to be affected by the change. In the month of February 1847, an idea got abroad that the question was still *sub judice*, as there

had been no formal vote of College on it, and a meeting of the supporters of Montem was held in London. The result was a bombastic appeal to old Etonians not "to be made the dupes of a party of sanctified enthusiasts." The Provost was much annoyed, but he was soon comforted by the receipt of numerous letters of sympathy and approval. The Lord Chief Justice Denman wrote as follows :—

"As there was to be a meeting, I was thinking of a letter of congratulation that it turned out such as it was. I cannot conceive anything less likely to prevent the valuable reform introduced at Eton, or more certain to recommend it to well judging persons. There is really not a word of argument in favour of the old and scandalous nuisance. That any persons can be found at this time favourable to a custom for young noblemen and gentlemen to go about the country as sturdy beggars obtaining money from passengers, is truly surprising. I have been in fear ever since I sat on the Bench that some sturdier yeoman might resist the extortion with unpleasant consequences, and that the whole affair would be shown up, to the shame of all Etonians, in a public Court of Justice. . . . If in these days it is thought desirable that some pecuniary advantage should be derived from the bounty of old Etonians to certain young men on their entrance into academical life, I cannot suppose that it would be left in the strange uncertain lottery which now decides in favour perhaps of the worst conducted and least deserving, to the bitter disappointment perhaps of one who may up to the last moment have reasonably expected it: . . . I am persuaded that a Parliament of old Etonians, if summoned to legislate on this question, would have decided by a large majority as you have done."

The Bishop of Lincoln and the Provost of King's took the same line. Bishop Wilberforce, too, wrote :—

"The consciousness of high motive, and, I doubt not, the issue of your Montem struggle will far more than repay you for a little contumelious usage."

In the ordinary course of things there would have been a procession *ad montem* on Whitsun Tuesday in that year, and as the time drew near the excitement increased. A second meeting of the anti-reformers was held on the 9th of May, and for a while there was an idea of presenting a petition to the Queen. Dr. Hawtrey explained his own position very frankly at the annual Eton dinner on the 22nd, but his speech was misreported, and he was obliged to write to the principal London newspapers to disabuse people of the idea that the change was made in opposition to his own wishes, and to point out that, since the opening of the railway to Slough, Eton on Montem Day had become little better than Greenwich Fair. Then came rumours of an intended demonstration at Salt Hill, and of a hearse having been hired to follow the old course of the procession. It was also understood that a party of malcontents were coming to break the windows of all the Masters, excepting two who were supposed to be favourable to Montem. On the eve of the 25th, Dr. Hawtrey summoned the second Colleger into "Chambers," and asked him what he would do if there was an *emeute* on the following day. "I will head it, Sir," was the reply; but after a fair argument, the boy was convinced that the authorities had reason on their side. On the same day Dr. Hawtrey wrote to the Provost, who was absent at the time :—

"I do not know what to think of to-morrow. I fear *nothing* from the *Boys;* but I have heard of an Undergraduate Onslaught from too many Quarters not to take Precautions. 30 London Police in plain cloaths (*sic*) will be at Slough early to-morrow, and will act as Occasion may arise. There will be a Cricket Match with safe Men, and I have given Leave to the Eight to go up the River with Evans. I begin to

hope that all will go off well, and of this I feel certain, that the Upper Part of the School are perfectly right and that if there is any Disturbance, it will be with strangers who will suffer for it and—what is important—be known."

Accounts of a great procession to Salt Hill, on the following day, appeared in the London newspapers, but Dr. Hawtrey, who must have known as well as any one what really took place, wrote as follows to the Provost:[1]—

"A few Lower School and Fourth Form Boys broke three or four of the Upper School Windows. Three of these Heroes were seized and complained of, by the 6th Form. A few hissed the Assistant at Absence. One of these was detected and punished. There was a little Fun of burying a Flag at Salt Hill, and that was all. The Mass of the School behaved perfectly well, and the Police went Home without an Action. There were a large Number of Windsor Election-Mob who came down in Hopes of finding a Row and were disappointed. . . . The black Flag Story is the Invention of the M[orning] P[ost], so are the white Scarfs. A Party of Lower Boys and Lower 5th Form went to Salt Hill after 12, to see what they had been told would take place, in Letters from Oxford Undergraduates. When they arrived they found themselves taken in. There were only a few Windsor Blackguards. There was no Procession in the Playing Fields, and no Collection taken by Boys at Salt Hill or after the Cricket Match. The latter was played by a Set of Men who asked my Leave and professed their Unwillingness to come if by coming they could be supposed to have any ill Intention. . . . It is *certain* that the *Upper* Part of the School *cared nothing* about the Matter. If they had cared, there must have been a real Outbreak. There was nothing at all approaching the old Absence Rows, which had, in Days gone by to take Place two or three Times every School-Term.

[1] Many of the details, given in the last few pages, respecting the abolition of Montem are derived from the extensive and valuable correspondence of the late Provost Hodgson.

"If the Procession had taken Place, as expected, I should have laughed at it as a mere Piece of English Fun, but it did not; possibly it was never intended by the Oxford Children; possibly they had heard of the Police."

In his desire to act justly by all parties, Dr. Hawtrey had already given 200*l.* out of his own pocket to the father of the boy who would have been Captain of Montem; and a few days after Whitsun Tuesday he gave a great dinner in Upper School to those who would probably have attended Montem. In after years he used to speak of this dinner with great pleasure as one of the happiest episodes in his life. Since the abolition of the old triennial festival, with all its interesting associations, and all its notorious evils, the 4th of June has greatly risen in importance as a gathering-day of old Etonians.

Montem Ticket.

1853—1875.

Changes under Dr. Goodford—Appointment of a Royal Commission—Changes under Dr. Balston—The New "Governing Body"—New Statutes—Changes under Dr. Hornby—Conclusion.

THE events which took place at Eton in the period between 1834 and 1852 may fairly be said to belong to the calm regions of history; more recent occurrences cannot be discussed at any length without touching upon matters of keen and angry controversy, which would ill accord with the tenor of the foregoing pages. This is not the place to consider the best form of government for a great public school, to define the relations that ought to exist between masters and boys, or to express any opinion on the different degrees of importance that ought to be attached to classics and modern languages, to history and mathematics, to geography and science, in a liberal education. But it may be desirable to place on record a very brief list of recent changes, which, according to some go too far, and which according to others do not go far enough to make Eton all that it should be.

Mr. Hodgson died in December, 1854, and it was soon settled that Dr. Hawtrey should be Provost, but the royal letter (or *mandamus*) miscarried, and did not reach Eton until 6 p.m. on the day fixed for the election. In the meanwhile the Fellows had duly met in the Church, and had all voted according to the known purport of the expected missive, thus technically exercising and practically waiving their statutory rights. During the eighteen years that he had filled the office of Head Master, Dr. Hawtrey had spent his best energies in the endeavour to raise the intellectual and moral tone of the School, and after his promotion he was content to pass his time in lettered ease, without embarking upon any new schemes of reform. Nevertheless he freely gave his consent to several very beneficial measures proposed by his successor, Dr. Goodford, such as the admission of former Oppidans to be Assistant Masters, and the institution of a special "army-class," for the purpose of "coaching" candidates for direct commissions, in the subjects of their impending examinations. The first two divisions, or in other words the first sixty-four boys in the School, were separated from the fifth form, and a new scheme of work was drawn up for them. A weekly exercise in divinity, known as "Sunday questions," was introduced in 1853, the questions being set in every form on Saturday, and answered on paper before Monday morning by the boys in every form.

New encouragement was given to manly sports. In 1855 the annual Eton and Winchester cricket match was for the first time formally recognized by the authorities, and ever since that time it has been played alternately on the Eton and Winchester cricket grounds during the summer half. The Eton and

Harrow match continued to be played during the holidays until 1858, when it was arranged that it should take place annually at Lord's on the second Friday and Saturday of the month of July.

In 1860 a Rifle Corps was formed among the boys, and was placed under the command of one of the Masters. In the same year the absurd practice of considering the road to the river "out of bounds," while the river itself was "in bounds," was abolished, and thenceforth it became the rule for boys to touch their hats in a straightforward manner to any Masters they chanced to meet in the High Street of Eton, instead of turning into the nearest shop to "shirk" them, as heretofore.[1]

In the following year Dr. Goodford put a stop to the "Oppidan dinner," which had been given annually by the Captain of the Boats, to the popular leaders of the School, at the White Hart Hotel, Windsor, and at the same time he abolished "check-nights." Hitherto it had been the custom for the crews of the three Upper Boats to row up to Surly Hall, in their 4th of June dresses, on certain specified evenings, to sup there on ducks, green peas and champagne, meeting the Lower Boats on their way home, and returning with them in regular procession; but these "check-night" suppers, as they were called, were condemned by the authorities as affording great temptations to idleness and self-indulgence. It is characteristic of Eton that these privileges, or, as some would call them, abuses, were not suppressed without compensation

[1] Perhaps the *ne plus ultra* of shirking was attained by a boy in Dr. Keate's time, who on seeing a Master enter the confectioner's shop where he was eating an ice, shut one eye, and held up his ice-spoon in front of the other.

being given to the boys, who might otherwise have thought themselves aggrieved. Compensation in this case took the form of a permission to the "Eight" to join in the Henley Regatta, and for many years the Ladies' Challenge Cup seemed almost to belong to Eton. Exemption from six o'clock absence on holidays and half-holidays in the summer half was moreover granted to any two crews, consisting of eighteen or twenty members of the Boats, who made application for a "boating bill," promising in their turn that they would row at least as far as Maidenhead.[1]

Under the authority of the Cambridge University Commissioners a change was made in 1860 in the mode of admitting Scholars to King's College, the uncertainties of the old system being got rid of by a rule that the Scholars elected from Eton every year at the end of July should go into residence at Cambridge three months later. Under the same authority the restrictions which confined the advantages of the Eton foundation to natives of England was removed in favour of all British-born subjects. It is very remarkable that many boys now become Collegers in order to get a good and cheap education, without any idea of proceeding to King's; indeed some of the cleverest of them prefer to compete for scholarships elsewhere.

These and other lesser improvements, which need not be particularized, were, however, not sufficient to bring the School up to the ideal standard of educational reformers. In a lecture delivered by Sir J. T. Coleridge at the Tiverton Athenæum in 1860, many of the deficiencies of the Eton system were plainly set forth, and in the early part of the following year a less friendly critic published some severe strictures on the

[1] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*, pp. 124, 125.

School and all connected with it, in the "Cornhill Magazine." The newspapers took up the cry, and in May, 1861, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the endowments, administration, and efficiency of the nine great public schools of England.

A few months after the appointment of the Commission, Dr. Hawtrey died.[1] He was the last Provost of Eton who was allowed to retain intact the authority committed to Waynflete and to Westbury by Henry VI., and by a curious coincidence he was also the last person whose burial was allowed to take place within the walls of the Collegiate Church. According to the precedent set in so many cases, Dr. Goodford was promoted to the Provostship, Mr. Balston, one of the Fellows, being at the same time induced to undertake the management of the School, a task difficult at all times, and doubly difficult under the then existing circumstances.

In 1865 the Royal Commission issued its report recommending changes of the most sweeping character, but the action of Parliament was deferred until 1868. In the meanwhile some further alterations were made at Eton. The use of several antiquated schoolbooks, such as the *Scriptores Romani*, the *Scriptores Græci*, and the *Poetæ Græci* was discontinued, and the old "Eton Latin Grammar" was superseded by the "Public School Latin Primer." In 1863 the Collegers were exempted from wearing their black gowns during play-hours, and their condition was further amended by the subdivision of the remaining portion of Long Chamber into a series of separate cubicles for the younger Scholars. The presence of the boys at Windsor Fair, the scene of many an amusing

[1] January 27, 1862.

adventure, was for the first time tolerated in 1865, and shortly afterwards the last relics of the "shirking" system were abolished, all the neighbourhood of Eton, except the back streets of Windsor, being declared to be "in bounds."[1]

Dr. Balston was utterly opposed to the various schemes of scholastic reform which were propounded from time to time, and when he saw that radical change was inevitable, he resigned his office. The appointment in his stead of Mr. J. J. Hornby, an old Oppidan, who had never belonged to the staff of Assistants at Eton, broke through a tradition of some two hundred years' standing, and was highly significant. In 1868 an Act was passed by Parliament authorizing certain Commissioners to draw up new constitutions for the principal public schools; and two years later a "Governing Body" for Eton was appointed, to consist of either nine, ten, or eleven members, of whom two were to be the Provosts of Eton and King's *ex-officio*; five were to be nominated respectively by the University of Oxford, the University of Cambridge, the Royal Society, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Masters, and the remaining two, three, or four, by the rest of the Governing Body.

Greater changes followed. In 1872 the whole body of Statutes drawn up by Henry VI. for the government of the College, and nominally at least in force

[1] The Terrace at Windsor and the river had been "in bounds" from time immemorial, yet Eton from Barne's Pool Bridge to Windsor Bridge was "out of bounds" until after the death of Dr. Hawtrey, and lower boys were expected to "shirk" the members of the sixth form as well as the Masters. Forty years ago lower-boy Collegers might not pass the Provost in a particular part of the School Yard, or beyond the wall of the Long Walk, and were sometimes late for construing in consequence of having to wait for an opportunity of a safe run to their tutor's house.

ever since his time, was formally repealed, except in so far as the vested interests of certain persons were affected thereby. The seven existing Fellows were allowed to retain their emoluments and houses for life, together with a semblance of authority in such matters as had not been placed under the jurisdiction of the new Governing Body; but even at College meetings they only rank *pari passu* with the newly-constituted rulers of Eton, who, in order that a continuity which does not exist in reality should be preserved in name, have received the old title of Fellows. All traces of the College of Priests are destined to disappear in course of time, the Provost himself being exempted from the necessity of being in holy orders. The terms School and College have been declared synonymous, and the new Statutes treat of Eton simply as a place of education, without attempting in any way to revive the character it once had as a haven of rest for pious and learned men.[1]

The changes made in the School routine since 1868 have been no less important in their own way than those made in the constitution of the College during the same period, and less difference is observable between the time-tables of 1765 and 1865 than between those of 1865 and 1875.

At Easter 1868 the weekly Latin themes which the boys had hitherto composed in their own rooms, and for which they had to supply the sense as well as the words, were given up in favour of exact translations from English into Latin, to be done in school within a given time; and a rule was also made that every member of the first three divisions should take up two "extra studies," to each of which he should devote

[1] An analysis of the new Statutes will be found in Appendix D.

two hours weekly, his field of choice including modern languages, history, physical geography, chemistry, political economy or logic, as well as the works of certain classical authors, such as Plautus, Terence, or Plato, not ordinarily read in School. All the boys below these first three divisions were made to learn French. Another rule established an extra school-hour for all the forms alike at 9.45 a.m., on holidays and half-holidays; and some of the old irregularities of the Eton Calendar were remedied by striking out the eves of Saints' Days from the list of half-holidays. It was also arranged that the Assistants should no longer meet in the Head Master's chambers at the beginning of each of the afternoon school-hours, and in consideration of the time thus economized, the mid-day school-hour was postponed from 11 to 11.15. Six months later compulsory attendance in Chapel on the morning and afternoon of all holidays, and on the afternoon of all half-holidays was abrogated, and a short daily service was established at 9.25 A.M.

Physical science was introduced as one of the regular subjects of study for the fifth form in 1869, and for the Remove in the autumn of 1875.[1] The study of geography, which was formerly confined to the Remove, has been extended to the Lower Division of the fifth form; and the number of repetition lessons throughout the School has been reduced to two a week. Greater importance has been attached to mathematics, and there has been a corresponding rise in the status of the teachers, who from being only Assistants to the Mathematical Master, have come to

[1] The term Physical Science includes Physical Geography, Astronomy, Chemistry, Heat, and Mechanics.

be Assistants to the Head Master. The teachers of mathematics, of French, and of physical science, are now on the same footing as the teachers of Latin and Greek, exercising authority out of school as well as in school. They have gradually supplanted the female "Dames" in the boarding houses, the College refusing to renew leases of these houses to persons not belonging to the educational staff.

The name of "Lower School" was abolished in 1870, and the Lower Master (no longer styled the Usher as in the old Statutes) now superintends the fourth form, and all below it. The subdivisions of the third form known as "Upper Greek," "Lower Greek," "Sense" and "Nonsense," have disappeared together with the second and first forms. In 1871 the Lower Division of the fifth form and the Remove were each divided into three sections instead of two as before, and the fourth form was divided into four sections instead of three. "Trials" (or examinations) were appointed to take place three times a year. As late as Dr. Balston's time, an Oppidan, after passing trials into the Upper Division of the fifth form, moved steadily upwards as vacancies occurred above him, and if he only stayed long enough he would become a member of the sixth form, and even Captain of the Oppidans without being subjected to any test of proficiency. Now it is necessary to pass an examination in order to become one of the first hundred boys in the School, who together constitute the first three classes, entrance into the first fifty being further guarded by an examination which is conducted annually in July by Oxford and Cambridge men.

With the old Statutes perished in 1872 the old

system of election to the foundations of Eton and King's; and a paragraph in the London newspapers has taken the place of the Latin notices which, year after year, for more than four centuries, were affixed to the great doors of the College and of the Church for seven weeks before the election. In former days the Provost of King's and two Fellows called "Posers" came down from Cambridge annually at the end of July to combine with the Provost, Vice-Provost, and Head-Master of Eton, in holding the necessary examinations, and were received at the gateway under Lupton's Tower, with picturesque ceremonial, the Provost of Eton saluting his brother of King's with the kiss of peace, and one of the sixth form Collegers delivering a Latin oration known as the "Cloister Speech." A curious custom was observed whenever a Colleger left Eton for King's. He had to appear before the Provost in full evening dress, with knee-breeches, silk stockings, and pumps, as on speech-days, and wearing over all this his black cloth gown, tacked together in front with a single thread. The Provost said a few words, "ripped" open the gown, and, according to the old formula, "expelled" him the College.

Some of the old observances connected with the election lingered on until 1871, but since that year the representatives of King's College have ceased to take any part in the examinations, and examiners are appointed by the Governing Body.

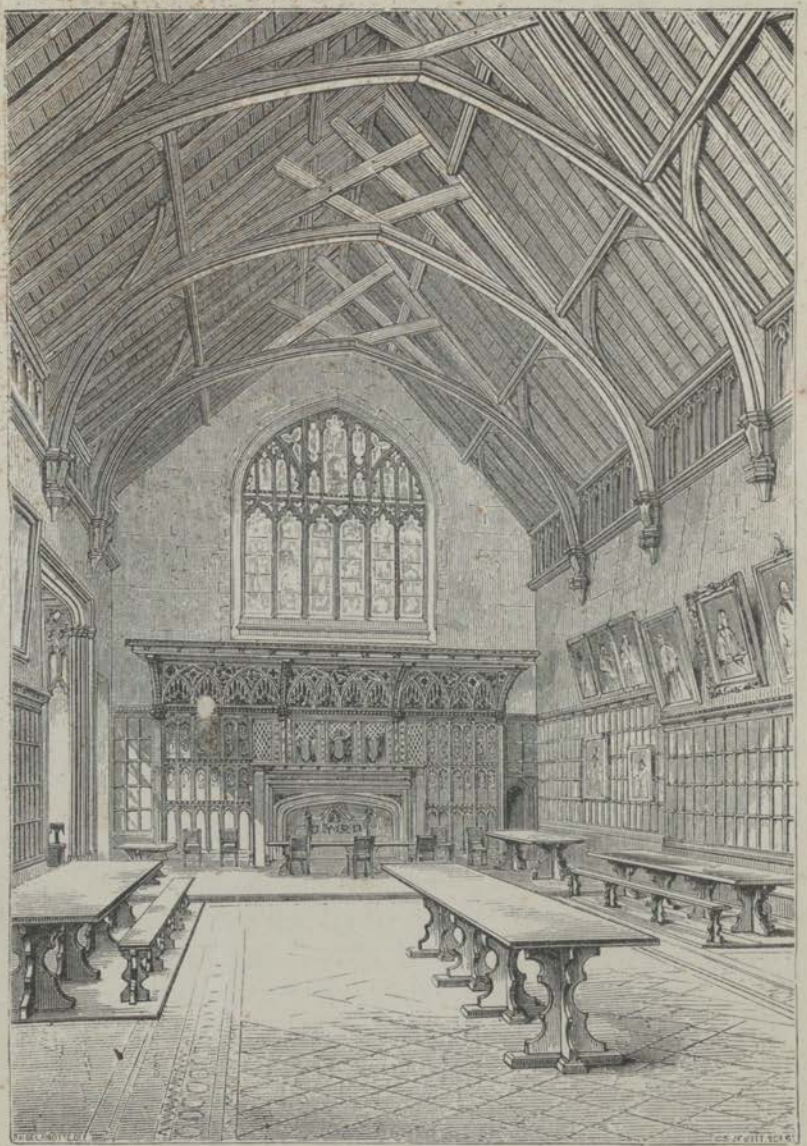
A source of constant reproach against Eton was removed in 1868 by the imposition of a capitation tax throughout the School in place of the "leaving-money," which every boy had hitherto been expected to deposit covertly on the Head Master's table, when he went to

say good-bye to him.[1] The Head-Master still continued to give to each departing boy a copy of a handsome work privately printed; but a rule was passed forbidding the boys to give "leaving books" to their school-fellows, as the kindly old custom had degenerated into a meaningless and extravagant form.

On turning to material improvements, we find that by the munificence of Mr. Wilder, the College Hall underwent thorough restoration in 1858. Three large early fireplaces were discovered behind the 16th century panelling, and were again brought into use. A new high-pitched roof was constructed, following the main lines of the original design, and a fine perpendicular window was inserted in the west wall, and filled with stained glass by Hardman, representing subjects connected with the early history of the College. Some richly-carved oak panelling, bearing the arms of the successive Provosts, was placed immediately below this window, and opposite to it, at the east end of the Hall, was erected a handsome screen. A new sideboard, and new tables and benches were provided by the College in a style suitable to the character of the building. Since that time the portraits of many eminent men educated on the Eton foundation have been hung on the walls.

A block of buildings containing fifteen convenient class-rooms, a music-room, an observatory, &c., was erected at the angle of the roads leading to Slough

[1] The sons of wealthy parents have from time to time presented the Head-Master with their own portraits painted by some popular artist. All the portraits thus presented from the days of Dr. Barnard to the days of Dr Goodford now hang in the Provost's Lodge, and form a most interesting and beautiful collection, including numerous works by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Opie, Hoppner, Romney, West, Beechey, Lawrence, and Masquerier.



INTERIOR OF THE HALL.

and Eton Common, in 1861, from the designs of Mr. Woodyer. The cost, which exceeded 10,000*l.*, was defrayed partly by the College, and partly by a subscription. The gun now standing in the yard of the New Schools was taken at Sebastopol in 1855, and presented to Eton several years later by General Peel, as Secretary at War.

The incorporation of physical science with the regular studies involved the erection of a separate Science School, with rooms for lectures and experiments, and a site was found at the end of Keate's Lane, adjoining the Racket-Courts which had been built in 1866. A second group of Fives' Courts was built in the Timbralls in 1870.

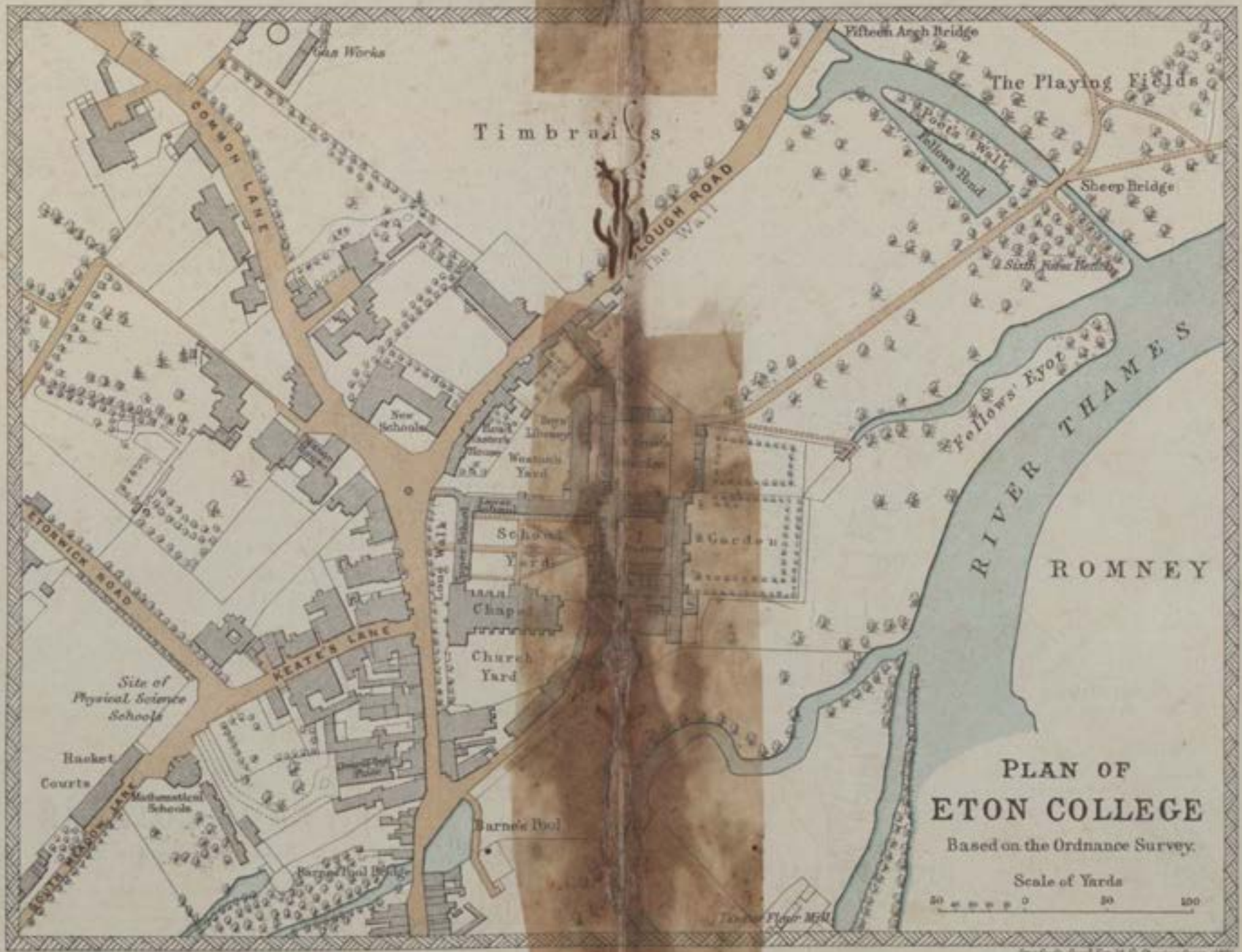
Much has been done to beautify the interior of the Collegiate Church since the general restoration effected under Provost Hodgson. In addition to all his former benefactions, Mr. Wilder has provided stained glass for fourteen large windows of the choir, and has caused the reredos and the whole east end to be tastefully decorated. The Etonian officers who fell in the Crimea have been commemorated by stained glass in the northern and southern windows of the Ante-Chapel, and by illuminated coats of arms and scrolls on the blank walls below these windows. Another fine window has also been given by Dr. and Mrs. Balston. Lupton's Chapel has undergone careful restoration, but on the other hand the organ has been removed from its place on the south side of the choir, and again allowed to block up the choir arch. The fourth and third forms now attend service at a temporary chapel near the Mathematical Schools. If the designs of Henry VI. for the Church had been carried out, all the boys might have worshipped under one roof.

The entire secularization of the College has made it necessary that the Provost should be relieved of the cure of souls; and the parish of Eton has in 1875 been constituted an independent vicarage, with the former Chapel of ease dedicated to St. John as its parish Church. Henceforth the old Collegiate Church of Eton will simply be the Chapel of Eton School, served by two Chaplains under the direction of the Governing Body.

Without attempting to chronicle all the events that have taken place at Eton during the last twenty years, we have said enough to indicate the nature of recent changes. Those who were at school under Dr. Keate, or even under Dr. Hawtrey, may well declare that in the Eton of 1875 they can scarcely recognize the Eton of their boyhood. A period of revolution has succeeded a period of slow and gradual improvements, and it would be vain to think that the storm is over. Men of all shades of opinion are interested and anxious about the condition of our public schools, and notably about that of Eton, the largest, the richest, and the most distinguished of them all. In spite of many drawbacks and many deficiencies, our School can boast a glorious past. In the church and in the senate, at the bar and in the army, and in every other branch of national life, her sons have held their own, and left their mark. At Eton have been learnt the early lessons of endurance, patience, self-control, and sturdy independence which have braced the characters of many of England's greatest men. In that world in miniature, the boy has been taught to find his own level, and to respect his fellows and himself—lessons happily remembered longer than much of his school work. If university honours and numbers on the school-list are any signs of success, there is no evidence of decay at Eton; and

those who most lament the suppression of the College of Henry VI. may yet unite with those who look forward eagerly to further changes, in hoping that the School will fulfil its duty towards the country at large, and accomplish the object of the Founder, by maintaining and promoting the Christian faith, good morals, and sound learning.

Gateway into the School Yard.


PLAN OF
ETON COLLEGE
Based on the Ordnance Survey.
Scale of Yards
50 0 50 100
Timbrails
Gas Works
COMMON LANE
LOUGH ROAD
The Wall
Fifteen Arch Bridge
The Playing Fields
Poet's Walk
Fellows' Road
Sheep Bridge
Sixth Form Hatch
Fellows' Eyot
RIVER THAMES
ROMNEY
New Schools
Westonb Yard
School Yard
Chapel
Church Yard
Garden
Long Walk
ETONWICK ROAD
KEATE'S LANE
Site of Physical Science Schools
Racket Courts
Mathematical Schools
Barne's Pool
Barne's Pool Bridge
Flour Mill

APPENDIX A.

THE STATUTES.

HENRY VI., soon after founding "the King's College of Our Lady and St. Nicholas in Cambridge," and "the King's College of Our Lady of Eton beside Windsor," issued a body of Statutes for each institution. These Statutes are in great measure simply transcribed from those drawn up by William of Wykeham for his colleges at Winchester and Oxford, and like them they are in Latin and very verbose. It seems best in this place to attempt no more than a brief summary of the Eton Statutes, arranging their contents under various heads for the sake of clearness.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COLLEGE.

Statutes II.–LXIV.

The College shall consist of a Provost, 70 poor Scholars, 10 Priest-Fellows, 10 Chaplains, 10 Clerks, 16 Choristers, a Head-Master, an Usher, and 13 poor infirm men. In the event of any future diminution in the revenue granted by the Founder, the commons, salaries, and numbers of the society shall be successively reduced; but this diminution shall begin from the lowest grade, so that the Fellows shall be the last to suffer.

THE PROVOST.

Statutes VII. VIII. XI. XXIV. XXVIII. XXIX. XXXIII. XXXVI. XXXIX.

The Provost shall be a Master or Bachelor in Divinity, or a Doctor of the Canon Law and a Master of Arts, a Priest, born in England, thirty years old, and educated on the Foundation of Eton.

Within two days after the occurrence of a vacancy, the Vice-Provost and Fellows shall assemble in the Church to fix the day of election of a new Provost. The election itself must be completed within a month. Absent electors shall lose a month's commons. The mass of the Holy Ghost shall be said, and the electors shall swear to fulfil their duty without fear or favour of persons.

The votes shall be written and folded, and examined by the Vice-Provost or senior Fellow. The person who obtains most votes shall be admitted to his office by the Bishop of Lincoln. If no election be made, the Bishop of Lincoln shall nominate to the office a Fellow or former Fellow of Eton or King's.

The new Provost shall take the oath prescribed by the Statutes. His post shall be tenable for life. He shall receive yearly a stipend of 50*l.*, and 25*l.* as Rector of Eton; 12 yards of cloth, and an allowance for a major-domo and two lacqueys, 40*s.* for the one, 26*s.* 8*d.* for the others. He shall occupy the rooms on the west of the College Hall.

He shall have precedence and plenary authority over the whole College, shall not absent himself for more than nine days in each year, and shall not hold any benefice or cure within seven miles of Eton.

A Provost found guilty of wasting or alienating the College revenues, of gross immorality, intolerable negligence, voluntary homicide or the like, shall be removed; so also if he be afflicted with any incurable contagious disease; and such deprivation shall be reported at once to the Bishop of Lincoln. An ex-Provost, who has not been removed for crimes, and who has no benefice of more than 20*l.*, may receive a yearly pension of 20*l.* from the College.

In matters of grave import the Fellows shall be consulted, and the decision of the majority confirm that of the Provost.

In October or November of every year a progress through the College lands shall be made by the Provost or a Fellow; (the Provost must perform this in person at least every other year); it shall not last more than forty days. The Provost shall have the appointment of all the officers in the College, except the Fellows, and the Head-Master and Usher, who shall be elected by the Provost and Fellows.

THE FELLOWS.

Statutes IX. XXIII. XXV. XXVII. LXII. LXIII.

There shall be ten Fellows, secular priests, elected by the Provost and Fellows jointly, from members or former members of either foundation. They must be Masters or Bachelors of Divinity, or Doctors of the Canon Law and Masters of Arts. The office shall be tenable for life. The elections must be completed within a month of the vacancy, or the right of nomination shall lapse to the Bishop of Lincoln. At his admission every Fellow shall swear not to favour the damnable heresies and errors of John Wycliff, or Reginald Pecok.

He shall receive yearly 10*l.* and six yards of cloth, which he must not sell, pledge, or give away till it is at least a year old.

A Fellow taking the vows of a religious order, or remaining absent from College more than six weeks in any one year, shall, *ipso facto*, vacate his post. So too if he obtains a property of more than 10*l.* a year. If he would retire he shall give six months notice. If he gets a benefice, unless otherwise bound by his oath, he may hold his Fellowship for a year of grace. Heresy, magic, simony, perjury, gross theft, personal violence, shall be reckoned among the crimes which shall subject a Fellow to deprivation.

The Fellows shall say daily Matins and Vespers, singly or two and two, in the nave of the Collegiate Church.

All Fellows promoted to the Episcopate shall continue to attend the Feast of the Assumption at Eton year after year.

A sick Fellow, so long as his illness be temporary and curable, shall be paid as usual; if incurable he shall receive 10*l.* yearly.

Any other member of the College falling sick shall draw his commons for a month, and if after that he seem to be incurable, he shall receive in money the value of three months' commons, and lose his place. Contagious cases shall be treated in a house especially provided.

The Vice-Provost, Precentor, and Sacristan.

Statute XII.

A Vice-Provost, Precentor, and Sacristan shall be chosen yearly by the Provost and Fellows from among the Fellows, and shall respectively receive 10*l.* a year, five marks, and two marks.

The Bursars.

Statutes XIII. XXXIV. XXXV. XXXIX. XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII. XLIV.

Two of the Fellows, chosen yearly by the Provost and Fellows, shall act as Bursars and receive five marks for their pains. They shall render careful accounts to the Provost and Fellows, an annual audit, and three annual scrutinies. Guests shall be allowed, as may beseem the courtesy or advantage of the College, and a moderate sum allowed for their maintenance. The possessions of the College shall never be alienated nor leased for more than sixty years.

All bequests to the College shall take the form of a gift absolute. The archives shall be preserved in chests in a room over the College gate, of which room the Bursars shall have a key apiece. The common seal of the College shall be kept in a chest with three locks, of which the keys shall be held by the Provost, Vice-Provost, and Precentor respectively. In another building shall be kept the archives, jewels, muniments, and the *Liber Originalis* of the Statutes, with an inventory in duplicate. The books shall be chained in the Library and carefully preserved.

THE HEAD-MASTER AND USHER.

Statutes XIV. XXVIII. XXIX.

The Head-Master shall be appointed by the Provost and Fellows, and shall be a man of good character, skilled in grammar and teaching, unmarried, and if possible a Master of Arts. He shall instruct the Scholars, Choristers, and other boys coming to the School, and shall have leave to punish them in moderation. The names of recusants shall be instantly sent in to the Provost or Vice-Provost. He shall receive yearly his commons, twenty-four marks, and six yards of cloth, and shall not hold any ecclesiastical preferment within seven miles of Eton, or leave his situation without giving six months' notice.

The Usher shall be a layman, unmarried, and if possible a Bachelor of Arts. He shall receive his commons, ten marks a year, and five yards of cloth, each piece of cloth of twenty-four yards being worth 4*l.*

The Head-Master and Usher shall not make any charge for their instruction, and shall be bound to cause a public disputation to be held yearly about the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas.

CHAPLAINS, CLERKS, AND CHORISTERS.

Statutes X. XXIX.

There shall be ten secular Chaplains hired and removable, graduates if possible, to officiate daily in the Collegiate Church. They shall receive 5*l.* a year, commons, and a livery of cloth.

There shall be four clerks, of whom one, the organist and instructor of the choristers, may be married. There shall also be a Parish Clerk in minor orders, chosen if possible from among the Scholars of the School; he shall be skilled in Sarum Use, and in singing, etc.; there shall also be a Vestry Clerk. All these Clerks shall receive commons, livery, and the following salaries:—The Organist 6*l.* the Parish Clerk and Vestry Clerk 6 marks apiece, and the other 3 clerks 5 marks apiece.

The Chaplains and Clerks shall swear not to leave the College suddenly, or hold any preferment within seven miles of Eton.

There shall be 16 Choristers under 12 years of age to sing in Church and to serve the priests at the daily masses. There shall be four lower Clerks, able to read and sing, two of whom shall assist the Parish Clerk, and two the Vestry Clerk, for which they shall receive commons, clothes, and a small salary.

There shall also be 13 poor lads or servitors between 15 and 20 years of age who shall assist in ringing the bells, cleaning the Church and Hall, and waiting on the first table at meals; two of them shall be assigned to wait on the Provost, and one on each of the Fellows and on the Head Master in their rooms. They shall receive no salary, and at the age of 25 they must either take holy orders or leave, unless they stay on as transcribers of books and manuscripts. The Chaplains and Clerks shall be liable to fines, varying from *6s. 8d.* to *1d.* for neglect of duty.

SCHOLARS.

Statutes III. IV. VI. X. XV. XXVI. XXIX.

The election of Scholars for King's shall take place annually between the Feasts of the Translation of St. Thomas and the Assumption of the Virgin, notices of the day being hung on the outer doors of the College and Church seven weeks beforehand. On the appointed day, the Provost and two Fellows of King's shall go to Eton, with not more than 10 horses, and shall charge their expenses against their own College. They and the Provost, Vice-Provost and Head-Master of Eton shall be the Electors, and shall meet in the great Parlour of the Provost, there to conclude the Election within five days. They shall first examine the indentures of the last election, and cancel any names remaining on them, and then proceed to elect a larger number of Scholars than the actual vacancies at King's College from among the Eton Scholars, disregarding the instances, prayers or requests of kings or queens, princes or prelates, nobles or gentlemen, and looking rather to the proficiency of the boys in grammar and

to their moral character. The first Scholar on the indenture shall always go into residence at King's within 20 days of the receipt of a summons announcing a vacancy on that foundation.

The same principle shall obtain in the election of Scholars for Eton, which shall be made by the same persons and at the same time as the election to King's. The Scholars shall be boys of good character and decent life, poor and needy, with a competent knowledge of reading, Donatus, and plain song, and be not less than 8 years old or more than 12. Specially well-read boys may be received up to the age of 17. They shall all be chosen, firstly from natives of the parishes in which either Eton or King's College hold property. Secondly, from natives of the Counties of Buckingham and Cambridge, and failing these from all English-born subjects. The choristers of Eton and King's College shall have a preference in each class. They must all have received the first tonsure, or receive it within a year of their admission; and no one shall be admitted suffering from any bodily or canonical defect which would incapacitate him from taking holy orders. No one having an annual income of more than five marks a year shall be eligible. Every Scholar shall be "expelled" the College on the completion of his 18th year, unless his name be on the indenture for King's, in which case he may stay on until the age of 19. Any Scholar leading a disreputable life, marrying, taking the vows of a religious order, or acquiring property of the annual value of 5*l.* shall also be obliged to leave the College. For clothing, each Scholar shall receive yearly a gown and hood (24 yards of cloth costing 50 shillings) which shall not be sold, pledged or given away, until it is three years old. Immediately on completing his 15th year every Scholar shall swear on the Gospels, that he has not more than five marks a year, that he will not reveal the secrets of the College, that he will guard and further its best interests, that he will observe the Statutes drawn up by the Royal Founder in their plain, literal and grammatical sense, to the exclusion of all other Statutes and Ordinances whatsoever, that he will be loyal and just in his behaviour, avoiding all occasions of jealousies

and brawls, and that he will neither seek nor accept any dispensation from his oath. The Scholars and Choristers shall receive clothing and bedding, but the total charge for them on this score shall never exceed a hundred marks a year.

THE COMMENSALS.

Statutes XVI. XVIII.

The sons of nobles and of special friends of the College up to the number of 20, shall be allowed to sleep and board in College, so long as no charges are incurred for them beyond their instruction in grammar. Gratuitous instruction shall also be given to another class of Commensals, who shall dine at the third table in Hall with the Scholars and Choristers.

THE HALL.

Statutes X. XV. XVI. XVII. XXVIII.

The Fellows and Head-Master shall receive commons to the value of 18*d.* a week, but if they appear in Hall less than six times in the week, they shall receive only half that sum. In times of scarcity, they shall receive 20*d.* or 22*d.*, and in the event of a bushel of corn fetching more than 2*s.* in the Eton market for 24 days or more, they shall receive as much as 24*d.* The Provost shall receive double the allowance of a Fellow or Master.

The Chaplains, Usher, and superior Clerks shall receive an allowance of 14*d.* a week apiece.

The Scholars, Choristers, and lower Clerks shall receive an allowance of 10*d.* a week apiece.

On each of twenty-five great festivals specified by the Founder there shall be an additional allowance of 6*s.* 8*d.* to amend the fare in Hall.

The Provost, Fellows, and Head-Master shall dine at the high table, the Chaplain, Usher, the Upper Clerks, and the richer Commensals shall dine at the second table, and the Scholars, Choristers and the other Commensals, at the other tables without any distinction of place. The lower

Clerks and the 13 poor lads shall serve in Hall, and eat afterwards with the servants.[1] During dinner, one of the Scholars shall read aloud portions of the Bible, lives of the Fathers, or sentences of the Doctors. A Clerk chosen for the purpose weekly shall serve up at the high table, and a Scholar at each of the other tables. The Grace shall contain a *requiem* for the souls of King Henry V. and Queen Catherine, with a prayer for Henry VI. during his lifetime, and a *requiem* for his soul after his death.

After partaking of the loving-cup, every one shall leave the Hall without loitering about, for people are more quarrelsome with full than with empty stomachs. On greater festivals, "or when in winter time a fire shall be allowed in Hall, out of reverence to God and His Mother, or any other saint, the Scholars and Fellows shall be allowed to divert themselves a reasonable time after dinner or supper with songs and other proper amusements, and to discuss poems, chronicles, and the wonders of the world."

Rooms and Servants.

Statutes XXVIII. XXXVI. XXXVII.

The buildings shall be kept in good repair.[2] There shall always be a notary public and a man skilled in Canon Law, resident in the College, unless any of the Chaplains possess the proper qualifications for assisting the Provost in all matters of law, and be able to draw up deeds, &c. The College shall keep as principal servants, a caterer, a butler, a cook, a porter (who shall also be torchmaker and barber), two bakers, two brewers, a gardener, and a groom. The lower servants shall be ready to help the clerks in ringing the bells, etc. All the servants shall be males, except a laundress, who must by age and character be beyond suspicion.

[1] Compare Burrows's *Worthies of All Souls*, pp. 46, 47.

[2] The statutes for the distribution of the rooms, &c., have already been quoted on pp. 39, 40, and 41, and need not be repeated.

DISCIPLINE.

Statutes XVIII. XIX. XXI. XXII. XLV. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX.

The gates of the College shall be shut at sunset, or at any rate before dark, and shall not be opened again before sunrise, the keys being kept by the Provost or Vice-Provost. No women shall be admitted into College at any time; strangers shall not be burdensome. The Chaplains and Clerks shall have the right of entertaining a friend for six days at the consent of the Provost, but no stranger shall sleep in College, except he be a former member of the foundation, or be come on business, such as hearing confessions, or granting indulgences, in which case he shall be allowed to sleep in College for six nights. No Fellow, Master, Chaplain, or Scholar shall be absent from Eton more than six weeks in a year, and no Fellow when absent shall sleep within five miles of Eton. No Scholar or Chorister shall walk in the town of Eton or Windsor without leave.

Reasonable allowance shall be made to persons travelling on the business of the College. No Fellow, Chaplain, Clerk, Scholar or Chorister shall wear long hair or a beard; or peaked shoes, or red, green, or white shoes. They shall not carry swords, knives or arms, or frequent play-houses. No one shall keep in the College any hounds, nets, ferrets, hawks, or falcons, for sport; nor any monkeys, bears, foxes, deer, badgers, or any unusual and rare wild beasts, such as would be unprofitable or dangerous to the College. There shall be no jumping or wrestling, throwing of stones or balls, lest damage be done to the walls or windows. There shall be no disputings, nor rivalries, nor factions, nor scurrilous talk, nor invidious comparisons in College. Offenders against graver rules of discipline shall be punished with loss of commons, and on a fourth offence with expulsion. Lighter faults such as disobedience or inattention in church shall receive adequate correction.

The Statutes of Eton and King's College shall be carefully

preserved, and be always open to the inspection of the Fellows and Scholars, but no stranger shall ever see them.

The College shall be subject to the Visitation of the Bishop of Lincoln, and of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

Statute XXX.

Prayers shall be said devoutly and constantly for the souls of Henry V. and Queen Catherine, and for the founder during his life and for his soul after death, and for all future Kings of England. For the Founder hopes that the Kings of England, their heirs and successors, being the sole founders and patrons of our aforesaid Royal College, will always be gracious to it, and be its special protectors, all the more because they shall see that day after day they will be individually remembered in the devout prayers of the place. The canonical Hours shall be said daily in the Collegiate Church, the first Matins being said between 4 and 5 A.M. The Provost shall wear a surplice and grey amice ; the Fellows surplices and hoods ; the Chaplains surplices and amices of black cloth, and the Clerks, Scholars, Choristers, and Commensals, surplices. Hoods shall not be worn in the choir between Easter Eve and the Feast of All Saints.

Seven masses for specified objects shall be said on every day of the year except on Good Friday, and *requiem* masses shall be said on the anniversaries of the deaths of Henry V., Queen Catherine, Henry VI., Queen Margaret, and William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester.[1]

THE ALMSHOUSE.

Statutes LI. LII. LIII. LIV. LV. LVI. LVII. LVIII. LIX.

The Bedesmen shall be thirteen in number, unmarried ; poor and infirm in body, sound in mind and not afflicted with

[1] This seems to show that the Statutes cannot have been drawn up in the year 1444 as generally assigned to them, as Waynflete was not appointed Bishop of Winchester until 1447. It is possible, however then, the passage may have been inserted in 1455 when Bishops Waynflete and Chedworth corrected the Statutes.

any incurable disease, which could breed disgust in the minds of their companions. They must know the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria* and the Creed, or at least promise to learn them within their first term of residence. They shall be sober and obedient, and whenever they go out they shall wear the gown provided for them by the College.

The Statutes shall be construed in their plain grammatical sense. The Provost, Fellows, and Scholars shall swear solemnly that they will not accept any dispensations therefrom. If anyone, at the instance of the old serpent, shall endeavour to invalidate the Statutes, he shall be deemed guilty of perjury.

APPENDIX B.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CHURCH. (p. 44.)

The following is a transcript of the hitherto unpublished manuscript which contains the final instructions of Henry VI. :—

"The Kynges owne voyse[1] as touchyng certayne demensions also [as] well of the Qwere as of the body of the Churche with the yles of [his] College Royall of oure blessed lady of Eton.

First he is avysed, concluded, and fully detmened that the seyd [Qwere] schall conteyne in length fro the Est ende with inne the wall [to the] Qwere dore cl fote of assise, wherof behynd the hye Auter xij fote. And fro the Reredoce behynd the hye Auter unto the low [est step] *y* called gradus chori xliiij fote. And from thens for lengthe of the stalles in the Qwere iiij^{xx} viij. And behynde the Provostes stall unto the quere dore vj fote for a wey in to the Rodelofte for redyng and syngyng, and for the organs and other manē observance there to be had after the rewles of the Churche of Salesbury.

[1] Or "avyse."

Itm the same qwere to conteyne in brede fro syde to syde with inne the walles xl fote of assise.

Itm on evy side of the same quere to be sett viij wyndowes evy wyndowe of v dayes clanly and substancially wrought. And in the Eest ende of the same a grete gable wyndowe of ix dayes.

"Itm the hye auter in the seid qwere schall conteyne in lengthe xviij fote and in brede iiij^{or} fote an a half withoute the Reredoce. Whiche schall conteyne in thiknesse ij fote. And on the right syde of the seid hye Auter to be sett an ymage of oure lady. And on the lefte side an ymage of seynt Nicholas. And above, in the seyd Reredose in the myddes, to be sett a grete ymage of our Savyoure with the xij Apostoles, vj sett on evry syde of the same ymage with sygnes and [tok]enes of here passion and marturdome.

"[Itm] that in the space behynd the hye Auter schall be an Auter in [the myd]des under the gable windowe conteynyng in lenthe ix [fote, an]d in brede iij fote, with an ymage of oure lady in the [mydd]es holdyng a childe in here arms.

"Itm that the body of the seyd Churche schall conteyne in lengthe fro the qwere dore unto the west dore of the same Churchē withinne the walles clxviij fote of assyse. And in the west end of the same a grete gable wyndowe of ix dayes.

"Itm the brede of the same body withinne the Pylours to conteyne xl fote of assise, acordyng to the wyde of the seid qwere.

"Itm he is avysed and concluded that the yle on either syde of the seyd body of the Churche schall conteyne in brede fro respond to respond, xx^{ti} fote. And in lengthe clxviij fote, acordyng to the seyd body of the Churche. And in evry ende of the seid yles a wyndowe of vj dayes, with a pñcipal moynell in the middes also in each of the Eest endes of the seid yles to be sett ij Auters, with ij Auters in the body of the seid Churche to be sett on evy syde of the qwere dore. And in evy syde of the same yles schall be viij wyndowes, evy windowe of v dayes to be sett directly agenst viij arches of the body of the seid Churche.

"Itm that the walles of the seid Qwere and Churche schall conteyne in hegtht fro the grownde werke unto the Crest of

the batilment of the same iiij^{xx} fote of assise. And fro the Crest unto the fynyng of the pynnacles xx^{ti} fote. And so the heght of alle from the clere grownde unto the heyest part of the pynnacles to be c fote of assise. And so the seid Qwere schall be longer than the qwere of the Newe College at Oxford bi xlvij fote, brodder bi viij fote, And the walles heyer bi xx^{ti} fote. And also heyer than the walles of seynt Stephenes Chapell att Westmonstr.

"Itm he is avysed and concluded that the first stone which is poynted to lye under the middes of the hye Autere be not stored removed ne towched in any wyse.

"Itm that the growndes of the Qwere whiche be nowe taken be nott removed ne scored for drede of hurtyng and empeyryng of the seid grownde but hitt be in tho places as schall be seen be housfull or necessarye, so that the grownde newe to be takyn besyde the oold grownde for the enlargeyng of the seid qwere be take lowe att the bottom of the fundement with ij courses. first, j cours of platt Yorkschire stone, playne and well bedded. After with the secunde course of Yorkschire and Teynton ston medlyd and couched togyder. And therupon the growndes arysyng to be made with large substancial fre stone of Taynton, w^{t} hethston and flynt y leyd and couched with good and myghty morter made with fyne stone lyme and gravell sonde unto the clere wall. And from thens upwards the walles to be made with Yorkschyre and Teynton ston. The stone walles to be filled with the same ston and with hard and durable hethston and flynt, with good morter to be made as hit is before rehersed. So that neyther in the seid grownde ne walles schall in any wise be occupied Chalke Bryke ne Reygate stone, otherwyse y called Meschñ stone, but oonly of the stuffe before rehersed.

"Itm that the growndes in the southe side of the seid qwere be take largeur withowte the clere wall than thei schall be on the North side of the same bi ij fote largely."

The following table will show at a glance the dimensions of the successive plans of Henry VI. The figures in column A are those given in the King's "will," dated March 12, 144$\frac{7}{8}$, and refer to the first

plan on the coloured plate facing page 45; those in column B are given in the undated MS. mentioned on page 43, and refer to the second plan on the coloured plate; and those in column C are given in "the Kynges owne voyse," and refer to the third plan on the coloured plate. The fourth plan on the coloured plate represents the existing structure, the Choir of which corresponds closely with that ordered in "the Kynges owne voyse." The plans, though drawn on a uniform scale, do not pretend to absolute accuracy of detail.

	A.	B.	C.
Total length of choir	103 ft.	118 ft.	150 ft.
Length of choir, exclusive of eastern chapel	95 ft.	100 ft.	138 ft.
Breadth of choir	32 ft.	35 ft.	40 ft.
Length of nave and aisles	104 ft.	119 ft.	168 ft.
Breadth of nave	32 ft.	35 ft.	40 ft.
Breadth of each aisle	16 ft.	16 ft.	20 ft.
Length of high altar	12 ft.	12 ft.	18 ft.
Breadth of high altar	5 ft.	5 ft.	4 ft. 6 in.
Length of northern vestry	50 ft.		
Breadth of northern vestry	24 ft.		
Height of northern vestry above the ground	20 ft.		
Height of battlements of choir above the ground	80 ft.	80 ft.	80 ft.
Height of pinnacles of choir above the ground	100 ft.	100 ft.	100 ft.
Number of lights in great eastern window	7	7	9
Number of lights in each side window of choir	4	4	5
Number of windows on each side of choir	7	7	8
Number of bays in nave	...	...	8

APPENDIX C.

FORMS OF INITIATION AT ETON.

The following curious notice occurs in a common-place book of the middle of the seventeenth century:[1]—

"*Senatus Consultum apud Etonenses pueros.*

"Recentes, Impudentes, Arrogantes, Insolentes attendite! Cum in superioribus annis propter illas, quæ aliæ inter alias intercedebant inimicitias, simultatesque, placuit eam potestatem uni olim comissam ad duos vel plures transferre; quum gitur ea penes nos sit authoritas, mandamus, jubemus imperamus ut omnes Recentes in aula adsint auscultent, et obediant

Consules.	*Quæstor.*	*Senatores.*	*Asseclæ.*	*Dominus Stipatorum.*	*Princeps Turris.*	*Magister Equitum.*
Woods. Sanders.	Coppleston.	Wyatt. Jones α. Batten. Messervy.	Povey. Verry.	Wright α.	Kensington.	Brown.
				Stipatores.	*Servi.*	*Servi.*
				Howard. Hodson. Courtman Jones. Tayler. Whiston. Losse α. Pradman. Losse γ. Lidgall. Waller. Cobden. Hussey. Gould. Nick. Peile, &c.	Dethick. Elly. Dickenson. Bayley. Plomer. Clifton. Nelson. Wright. Burnell. Bell. Stanton. Griffith. Swaine. Hull. Pery. Legge. Hanbury.	Spencer. Gascoin. Boothby. Kemish. Stevens. Lee. Hawtrey. Dickenson. Sclater. Ellis. Eyre. Piper. Therndell. Pretty. Bragge. Gqrnway. Holdernes. Brinklett. Sculls.

[1] *Rawl. Misc. MS.* 762, in the Bodleian Library.

unusquisque hanc sibi comissam vel potius concreditam provinciam diligentissime curet et tueatur; si quis vero ob superbiam eam stempserit, aut negligentiam deposuerit, viginti habebit numorum non adulterinorum. Siquis vero majestatem læserit dignissimum audaciæ suæ præmium ferat; prout visum est superioribus."

The document may confidently be assigned to A.D. 1639 or 1640, as many of the boys whose names occur in it were elected to King's in 1640 and the following years. It appears to be a Montem List, the *stipatores* and *servi* bearing a strong analogy to the Corporals and Polemen of later days. The *consul* or *consules*, who occupy the highest rank, are also mentioned in the same little volume, in a copy of "Second course verses at Recent-time at Eton, made by Is. Olivier," who was elected to King's in 1630. The following are the most characteristic stanzas in the poem :—

"Welcome that guest, who is as free
As is our feast, and dares to be
As open as the hand
Of our great consulls, let him goe
Who feares to change his sober show,
Our table must be mann'd.

Fill out the wine and so begonne
To lette a joviall boldnes in
This was the Thebans way
Who knew what water well was best
And with his lyre drown'd all the rest
And gott ye Doric day.

"A health our Muse doth first proclaim
Unto our Consuls glorious name
Now let the cup goe round
So being wash'd we all admitt
Unto our meate, none take a bitt
Who's a Recusant found."

We can scarcely doubt that the "salt" mentioned by Malim as used for "seasoning" fresh men (*recentes*) played a part in these feasts, for until five or six years ago every new Colleger was obliged to drink a glass of salted beer in Hall, soon after his admission. All traces of the Epigrams mentioned by Malim disappeared long ago, as far as Collegers were concerned; but a trace of them seems to have survived among Oppidans until the days of Dr. Hawtrey in the fifth form speeches which used to be delivered in the different boarding-houses until fifty years ago. When a boy passed into the fifth form, he gave a great supper in his room, at which he recited a heroic poem composed for the occasion, and satirizing every boy in the House from the Captain downwards. Malim's rule against rudeness and buffoonery was not observed on these occasions, and the broadest personalities were permitted, the orator being held free from any liability to a thrashing at the hands of those whom he had turned into ridicule. Admission to the highest stalls in the Church was, as we have seen, marked by the distribution of almonds and raisins.[1]

When a boy was promoted from the Lower School into the fourth form, he had to submit to what was known as "booking," on the following Monday morning. As he went for the first time up the staircase into Upper School, he had to run the gauntlet of the assembled boys, each of whom tried to hit him on the head with a book. If the boy was popular he could generally collect round him a knot of sturdy friends to protect him from the blows. Analogous to this was the custom by which, on a night early in the half, the fifth form used to "bammock" with their heavy cloth

[1] Page 429.

gowns the unlucky Lower boys as they passed into Long Chamber from the sixth form supper-room, where they had just been selected as fags. This custom survived blanket-tossing by about forty years.[1]

APPENDIX D.

ANALYSIS OF THE STATUTES MADE BY THE NEW GOVERNING BODY OF ETON SCHOOL, A.D. 1871—1872.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COLLEGE.

Statute I.

The Foundation of the College shall consist of a Provost and ten Fellows; a Head-Master of the School and a Lower Master; at least seventy Scholars, and not more than two Chaplains or Conducts.

THE PROVOST.

Statutes II. III. IV. V. VI. VII.

The appointment to the Provostship shall be vested in the Crown. The Provost shall be a Member of the Church of England (not necessarily in Holy Orders), at least 30 years of age, and a Master of Arts, or of some equal or superior degree in the University of Oxford or of Cambridge. He shall exercise a general superintendence over the affairs of the College; shall take care that all persons concerned in the administration or service of the College shall conform to the Statutes and Regulations of the College and School, and perform the several duties assigned to them; and shall have power, in all cases not provided for by the Statutes and Regulations, or by any Resolution of the Governing Body, to make such provisions for the welfare of the College as he shall think fit. He shall preside *ex officio* at all Meetings of the Fellows, and in all cases of equality of vote shall have a casting vote. The Provost shall reside in the College during the whole of every school-time, unless absent on College business, or prevented by sickness

[1] Page 418.

or other grave cause, to be signified by him in writing to the Governing Body. If the Provost shall at any time become incapable of performing the duties of his office, the Governing Body shall have power to appoint one of the Fellows to act in the Provost's place during such his incapacity, and to assign to the person so appointed such a residence, and a portion, not exceeding one-third of the Provost's stipend. The Fellow who shall be appointed to act in the Provost's place shall be called "Pro-Provost;" but the office of Pro-Provost shall not constitute a right of membership of the Governing Body. If the Governing Body shall prefer to the Bishop of Lincoln as Visitor a charge against the Provost, either of disgraceful conduct, or of malversation in his office, or of grave neglect of his duty, the Visitor shall proceed to inquire into the facts of the case, and, in the event of the charge being established, shall deprive the Provost of his office. The Provost shall be entitled to a stipend of 2,200*l.* per annum; and this fixed payment shall cover all allowances. He shall reside at the Lodge, which shall be kept in tenantable repair, and all rates and taxes on which shall be paid at the expense of the College. The Provost shall not hold any other office, place, or preferment to which an emolument is attached, or exercise any profession, or carry on any business.

THE FELLOWS.

Statutes VIII. IX. X. XI. XII.

The Fellows shall be the ten members of the Governing Body, other than the Provost of Eton, constituted by Statute bearing date May 11th, 1869, and made in pursuance of the "Public Schools Act, 1868." If any two Fellows shall prefer before the Provost against any other Fellow a charge of disgraceful conduct, rendering him unfit for his office, the Provost and Fellows shall inquire into the case, and, in the event of the charge being proved, shall expel the Fellow so offending from the College. Provided that at any Meeting held in pursuance of this Statute, at least two-thirds of the whole Body shall concur in the vote of expulsion. The Fellows existing at the time of the approval of this Statute shall

retain their status, rights, privileges, and emoluments as Fellows, and shall have equal powers with the other Fellows in all matters not assigned by Act of Parliament or by these Statutes to the direction of the Governing Body. On the first avoidance of his Fellowship by one of the Fellows existing at the time of the approval of this Statute, it shall be lawful for the Provost and Fellows to elect the present Lower Master to a Fellowship, with the same rights, privileges, and emoluments as are reserved to the Fellows existing at the time of the approval of this Statute.

THE VICE-PROVOST.

Statute XIII.

There shall be chosen annually by the Governing Body one of the Fellows, or some person who has filled the office of Master in the School, to be called the Vice-Provost. His duty shall be to attend, under the Provost, to the good government of the College; to act as the Provost's deputy in his absence. He shall not be absent from the College during the school-time at the same time as the Provost, except for some cause to be approved of by the Provost or by a majority of the Fellows.

THE BURSARS.

Statute XIV.

There shall be appointed annually by the Governing Body one or more Bursars, either from among the Fellows or not, as the Governing Body may at any time deem most expedient. The duties of the Bursar or Bursars shall be assigned to him or them by order of the Governing Body, and he or each of them separately shall be responsible to the Governing Body.

NEW OFFICES AND STIPENDS.

Statutes XV. and XVI.

The Governing Body may appoint a Secretary or Clerk, and from time to time create any new Offices which they shall think necessary for the more efficient management of the

affairs of the College, and may assign to the Secretary or Clerk, and to other officers as aforesaid, such stipends as they shall think fit. The appointment of all Officers of the College, not otherwise provided for, and the appointment and dismissal of all College Servants, shall be subject to the directions of the Governing Body.

College Meetings.

Statute XVII.

The Provost shall convene at least one General Meeting of the Fellows during each school-time. Meetings of the Fellows shall also be held at seven days' notice as often as the Provost shall deem it necessary, or a written request for the same shall have been preferred to him, signed by any three of the Fellows. One-third of the whole body shall constitute a quorum. All questions brought forward at a Meeting shall be decided by a majority of the votes of those present.

Auditor.

Statute XVIII.

The Governing Body shall appoint an Auditor. He shall receive such a salary as they think fit, and shall hold his office during their pleasure. The Auditor shall annually examine and verify the accounts of the Bursar or Bursars of the College. After the Accounts have been thus audited, and signed by the Auditor, they shall be submitted to the Provost, and not less than three of the Fellows.

The Head-Master.

Statute XIX.

The Head-Master shall be appointed by, and hold his office at the pleasure of, the Governing Body. He shall be a Member of the Church of England, a Master of Arts, or of some equal or superior degree in the University of Oxford or of Cambridge. He shall be continually resident during the whole of each school-time, unless for some grave cause. He shall appoint all Masters and other persons engaged in the

teaching of the School, who shall hold their offices at his pleasure; but the number, position, rank in the School, and emoluments of such Masters shall be subject to the sanction of the Governing Body. He shall be charged with the general discipline, and shall superintend the instruction of all boys admitted to the School, and shall, in all respects, be bound to carry into execution the Statutes and Regulations of the College and School. He shall have a house within the precincts of the College, kept for him at the expense of the College in tenantable repair and free from rates and taxes. He shall not hold any ecclesiastical or other office to which any emolument is attached, nor shall he, without the consent of the Governing Body, undertake any other duties than those of the Head-Mastership. He shall receive a stipend derived from the fees paid by the College for the Scholars on the Foundation, and by the Oppidans. The amount of such stipend shall be determined from time to time by the Governing Body, and he shall not receive from the boys any fee, payment, or gratuity over and above such stipend. The Head-Master shall not resign his office without giving to the Governing Body at least three months' notice of his intended resignation, and such resignation shall take effect only at the end of a School-time.

THE LOWER-MASTER.

Statute XX.

The Lower-Master shall be appointed by the Head-Master, and shall rank in the School immediately after him. He shall, in the absence of the Head-Master, act as his deputy.

FOUNDATION SCHOLARS.

Statutes XXI. XXII. XXIII. XXIV.

There shall be at least 70 Scholars on the Foundation of the College. The Election of such Scholars shall be held every year on the last Monday in July. On the day of Election, the Electors shall arrange on a roll in order of merit the names of as many candidates as shall be sufficient to supply vacancies. So soon as there shall be any vacancy in the

Scholarships, the Head-Master shall notify the same to the Provost; and the Provost shall proceed at once to fill up the vacancy from and according to the order of the names on the roll. No such Scholarship shall remain vacant more than 21 days during any School-time. Every such roll shall be cancelled on the morning previous to the following Election, and no candidate shall, by reason of his name having appeared upon such cancelled roll, have any claims to preference at such following Election. The Election of the Foundation Scholars shall be vested in the Governing Body, who shall elect after an examination conducted by Examiners appointed by them. The Foundation Scholarships shall be open to all British subjects. Every candidate shall produce evidence of the date of his birth, and a certificate of good character. No boy shall be a candidate for such Scholarship who, on the day of Election, has not reached his 12th, or has passed his 15th birthday. A Scholarship on the Foundation shall be tenable until the Election next after the Scholar's 19th birthday. The Foundation Scholars shall be educated and maintained during each school-time out of the funds of the College. The power of expelling for misconduct any Scholar on the Foundation shall rest with the Head-Master, who shall have the power, for grave misconduct, to deprive a Scholar for any time not exceeding one school-time of the whole or part of the advantages of his Scholarship. Any Scholars so deprived or expelled shall have the right of appeal to the Governing Body.

Scholarships other than on the Foundation and Exhibitions.

(*a.*) *Tenable at the School.*

There shall be established, so soon as the funds of the College will allow, Exhibitions of the value of 50*l.* per annum, tenable at the School during good behaviour, and open by voluntary competition to all boys between their 14th and 16th birthdays. Any such Exhibition shall be vacated on the Exhibitioner either being elected to the Foundation, or reaching his 19th birthday, or quitting the School.

(*b.*) *Tenable after quitting the School.*

The Scholarships and Exhibitions known as the "Reynolds," "Bryant," "Berriman," "Hetherington," "Davies," and "Chamberlayne," shall be open by competition to all boys in the School. But none of these Scholarships or Exhibitions shall be tenable with any other Scholarship or Exhibition connected with the School, except the "Newcastle" Scholarship. These Scholarships and Exhibitions shall be tenable for four years, and not more than three of them shall be offered for competition in any one year. The Reynolds Scholarships shall be tenable at the University of Oxford or of Cambridge. The Exhibition founded by Dr. Berriman in 1750, increased by Mr. Hetherington in 1770, and further increased by Dr. Davies in 1809, shall be consolidated under the name of the "Berriman Exhibition."

The Conducts.

Statute XXVII.

The Governing Body shall have power to appoint Chaplains or Conducts, not more than two in number, who shall perform the daily service in the College Chapel; and shall hold their office so long as they faithfully discharge their duties. Any Conduct coming into possession of any benefice or ecclesiastical preferment shall thereby vacate his office.

Ecclesiastical Patronage.

Statute XXVIII.

When a benefice in the patronage of the College shall be vacant, the presentation to the same shall be offered to the Masters and Conducts without distinction, according to seniority of appointment, and if refused by them it shall remain in the gift of the Provost and Fellows. No benefice shall be tenable with the Mastership or Conductship.

RETIRING PENSIONS FOR MASTERS.

Statute XXIX.

It shall be lawful for the Governing Body to award Retiring Pensions to deserving Masters, who shall have served as Head-Master, or for at least 15 years as Masters in the School. Such pensions shall not exceed 400*l.* per annum each, nor 1,000*l.* per annum in the aggregate.

POOR MEN AND ALMSWOMEN.

Statute XXX.

There shall be no more than thirteen Poor Men or Almswomen appointed by the Provost. They shall receive such emoluments as may be assigned to them by the Governing Body.

SEAL OF THE COLLEGE.

Statute XXXI.

The Seal of the College shall be kept in a chest fastened with two locks, the keys of which shall be severally kept by the Provost, and by the Bursar, or by the Vice-Provost. This Seal shall not be affixed to any document except in the presence of the Provost or Vice-Provost and two Fellows, and in pursuance of a resolution passed at a College Meeting.

APPROPRIATION OF REVENUES.

Statutes XXXII. and XXXIII.

When the income of the property of the School shall have increased to such an extent as may enable the Governing Body to improve or enlarge the existing establishment, or to found new Exhibitions, they shall from time to time, as circumstances may permit, bring into operation such part or parts of the Statutes relating to such objects as they shall deem most expedient. In the event of a sufficient surplus of the funds of the School remaining after adequately providing for all the objects contemplated by the preceding

Statutes, the Governing Body may establish a Subordinate or other School or Schools in connection with Eton College, and may make Statutes and Regulations for the government thereof, and may vary the same at their discretion.

Against Alienating the College Property.

Statute XXXIV.

No sale, exchange, or other alienation of any manors, rectories, advowsons, lands, tenements, or other possessions of the College shall be made, and no lease of any property belonging to the College shall be granted for a longer term than twenty-one years, otherwise than with the sanction of the Governing Body, and under and by virtue of the powers and in conformity with the provisions of the Act 21 and 22 Vic., c. 44, or of any Acts of the Legislature.

Provision in case of Changes in the Value of Money.

Statute XXXV.

If at any time it should appear to the Governing Body that, by reason of any change in the value of money, the specific sums fixed by these Statutes have become insufficient or excessive or injurious to the general interest of the School, they may lay before Her Majesty in Council, and publish in the "London Gazette" a Statute directing that such annual sums shall be increased or diminished as they shall think fit; and, on the approval of such Statute by Her Majesty in Council, in accordance with the provisions of the "Public Schools Act, 1868," the increased or diminished sums shall thenceforth be substituted for the sums originally fixed.

The Governing Body.

Statute XXXVI.

The Governing Body shall meet at least once in each School-time at Eton or in London, on such days as the Provost of Eton, or, in case of his death, illness, or incapacity, the Member

next in order shall appoint. The Provost, or, in any such case aforesaid, the next Member of the Governing Body, shall have the power of calling any other Meeting when he shall think fit, giving not less than a fortnight's notice thereof; and on any request in writing from not less than three Members of the Governing Body, the Provost, or in any such cases as aforesaid the next Member of the Governing Body, shall call a Special Meeting for any purpose specified in such request, giving not less than a fortnight's notice thereof.

Construction of the Statutes.

Statute XXXVII.

If any question shall arise in regard to the construction of any Statute of the College and School, it shall be decided by the Governing Body. But it shall be competent for any person, other than a Scholar of the College, affected by their decision to refer the same to the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln, whose judgment thereon shall be final.

Repeal of Previously Existing Statutes.

Statute XL.

After the approbation of this Statute by Her Majesty in Council, none of the Statutes of the College called "The Kynge's College of our Ladye of Eton, beside Windesore," which were in force before the passing of the "Public Schools Act, 1868," shall be of any force except in so far as they relate to the emoluments or status of the present Provost and then existing Fellows of the College, or the rights of any boy being at the time of the passing of that Act on the Foundation of the said College, or the tenure by any person of any Scholarship or Exhibition or other like emolument held by him at the time of the passing of the said Act, or the vested interest of any Master in the said School appointed to his office before the passing of the "Public Schools Act, 1864."

APPENDIX E.

PROVOSTS OF ETON.

1440. Henry Sever, D.D.
1443. William Waynflete, D.D.
1447. John Clerk, B.D.
1447. William Westbury, B.D.
1477. Henry Bost, B.D.
1503/4. Roger Lupton, LL.D.
1535. Robert Aldrich, D.D.
1547. (Sir) Thomas Smith, LL.D.
1554. Henry Cole, D.D.
1559. William Bill, D.D.
1561. Richard Bruerne, B.D.
1561. William Day, D.D.
1596. (Sir) Henry Savile.
1621/2. Thomas Murray.
1624. Sir Henry Wotton.
1639. Richard Steward, D.C.L.
1643/4. Francis Rous, B.A.
1658/9. Nicholas Lockyer, M.A.
1660. Nicholas Monk, D.D.
1661/2. John Meredith, D.D.
1665. Richard Allestree, D.D.
1680/1. Zachary Cradock, D.D.
1695. Henry Godolphin, D.D.
1732. Henry Bland, D.D.
1746. Stephen Sleech, D.D.
1765. Edward Barnard, D.D.
1781. William Hayward Roberts, D.D.
1791. Jonathan Davies, D.D.
1809. Joseph Goodall, D.D.
1840. Francis Hodgson, B.D.
1853. Edward Craven Hawtrey, D.D.
1862. Charles Old Goodford, D.D.

HEAD-MASTERS OF ETON.

N.B.—The dates marked with an asterisk are only approximate.

1441.* William Waynflete.
1443.* William Westbury.
1447. Richard Hopton.
1453. Thomas Forster.
1453. Clement Smyth.
1458. John Peyntour.
Clement Smyth.
1470. Walter Barber.
David Hanbrook.
1484. Thomas Muche.
William Horman.
1495. Edward Powell.
1496. Nicholas Bailbrigg.
1501. Robert Yong.
1504.* John Smyth.
1507. John Goldyve.
1510. Thomas Philyps.
1511. Thomas Erlysman.
1515. Robert Aldrich.
1521. Thomas White.
1524. John Goldwyn.
1528. Richard Cox.
1534. Nicholas Udall.
1543. —— Tyndall.
1543. —— Smith.
1545. —— Cater.
1546.* William Barker.
1555.* William Malim.
1563.* William Smyth.
1571.* Reuben Sherwood.
1579.* Hugh Blythe.
1579.* Thomas Ridley.
1582.* John Hammond.
1594. Richard Langley.
1611. Richard Wright.

1611. Matthew Bust.
1630. John Harrison.
1636.* William Norris.
1646.* Nicholas Gray.
1648.* George Goad.
1648. Thomas Horne.
1654. John Boncle.
1655. Thomas Singleton.
1660. Thomas Montague.
1671.* John Rosewell.
1680. Charles Roderick.
1690. John Newborough.
1711. Andrew Snape.
1720. Henry Bland.
1728. William George.
1743. William Cooke.
1745. John Sumner.
1754. Edward Barnard.
1765. John Foster.
1773. Jonathan Davies.
1792. George Heath.
1802. Joseph Goodall.
1809. John Keate.
1834. Edward Craven Hawtrey.
1853. Charles Old Goodford.
1862. Edward Balston.
1868. James John Hornby.

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